

COMPLIMENTARY FIRST ISSUE

CURRENTS

READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS

WINTER 1983

VOLUME 1, NO. 1

FOCUS ON
MINORITIES
IN THE
WORKPLACE

Published by THE URBAN ALLIANCE ON RACE RELATIONS

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Currents: Readings in Race Relations is the quarterly magazine of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations.

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations, formed in July 1975 "to promote a stable and healthy multiracial environment in the community," is a non-profit organization made up of volunteers from all sectors of the community.

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for the visible minorities. It works towards encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multiracial population through programmes of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It is also focussing its efforts on the institutions of our society including educational systems, employment, government, media, legislation, police, social service agencies and human services, in order to reduce patterns of discrimination and inequality of opportunity which may exist within these institutions.

The work of the organization is carried out through working committees such as: Educational Institutions; Legislation; Media; Law Enforcement.

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The subscription rate is \$12.00 per year, \$10.00 for members of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations.

Membership fees to join the Urban Alliance on Race Relations are:

Students &
Senior Citizens
\$5.00
General Membership
\$20.00
Sustaining Membership
\$50.00 & over

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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations wishes to acknowledge the financial support of Wintario and the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture.

International Standard Serial Number ISSN 0715-7045

2nd Class Mail Registration Pending

Pictorial Research

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THE URBAN ALLIANCE ON RACE RELATIONS is very pleased to be publishing the first race relations journal in Canada. As practitioners working in this field, we have been deeply concerned about the lack of an integrated, comprehensive and consistent approach to meeting the needs of our multiracial society. While there is an increasing number of professionals who have the responsibility of developing policies and programmes in the general area of race relations, they do so often without the necessary knowledge and skills. Moreover, they have little access to the information that does exist in the form of research, models and projects dealing with important aspects of race relations. The volunteer sector has also suffered from the lack of access to these kinds of essential resources.

It is our hope that the publication of *CURRENTS: Readings in Race Relations* will help reduce some of these gaps and that it will provide a vehicle for the exchange of new ideas, strategies and programmes which have been developed here and elsewhere.

Equally important, we envision that the Journal will serve as a bridge between the theoretician and the practitioner, the professional and the volunteer, the institutions and the community.

The Urban Alliance believes that the sharing of knowledge and skills is the first crucial step in achieving a more just and harmonious society.

Carol Tator

EDITORIAL

WELCOME TO THE FIRST ISSUE OF *CURRENTS: Readings in Race Relations*. The intent of this new publication is to provide a regular medium for the sharing of information, ideas and skills in the field of race relations. Our hope is that it will provide a vehicle for serious discussion of current issues to all of you who are concerned, interested and professionally involved in improving race relations.

As the report, *Now Is Not Too Late* chaired by Walter Pitman stated: "Effective services must be built on a solid base of research and information. The present lack is part of the reason for the absence of coordination and planning, of programmes taking on a crisis orientation reaction stance."

This analysis is no less true today than when it was first made in 1977. What we want to do through *CURRENTS* is to seek out, analyse and disseminate such a solid base of information to individuals and organizations who have a concern for improving race relations. We thus want to strengthen the level of expertise necessary to reduce racial discrimination, and support the growing level of professional competence evident in the field of race relations work in this country.

This first issue focusses upon employment and economic development as it pertains to minorities. Although it is not the intent at this point in time to approach every issue on a thematic basis, one hopes to avoid being overwhelmed with too eclectic a collection of articles on all the many issues of current concern in race relations.

A note on terminology and terms of reference. One of the difficulties of discussing race relations is that of finding appropriate terminology to identify groups, such as "white", "non-white", "blacks", "ethnic", "racial", "visible minorities", "disadvantaged" and so on. Definitions to these terms vary considerably, and unfortunately it is beyond the capacity of this editor to resolve this conclusively. It is hoped that as our understanding of the issues evolve, so do our definition of terms.

As practitioners in the field, it is important to receive your reactions to this journal along with any suggestions for improvements. If this publication is to be useful to you, it is vital that you provide us with your reactions. For the following issues it is our intent to have an extensive "Letters to the Editor" column. Please respond.

Tim Rees

Race Relations Today

The State of the Art

Wilson A. Head

An examination of the state of race relations, sometimes labelled "the race relations industry," must begin with at least a brief historical overview of relations between the various racial and ethnic groups in Canadian society. An adequate analysis of these developments would require at least one and probably several volumes. This brief overview must be considered as severely limited and of course suffering from a degree of over generalization. Given these limitations, however, it is to relate in general terms the factors which support the development of negative racial attitudes and behaviour in Canadian society.

Misconceptions

First, it is necessary to clear away many of the misconceptions and myths which many Canadians so ardently accept and believe. Many Canadians, possessing little or no knowledge of the history of racism in Canada, are shocked to learn that slavery was not exclusively an American phenomenon. Slavery also existed in Canada from its earliest beginnings. The bondage of blacks in Canada, although small in size and scope, continued from the early 18th century until its abolition by the British Parliament in 1834. It should be remembered that this action was taken only 31 years before the abolition of slavery following the American civil war in 1865.

The thousands of American slaves who had escaped from bondage and had found freedom in Canada, were no longer welcomed when they were free to return to the United States. However, many thousands did return to their former homeland, leaving greatly reduced numbers of blacks living in scattered towns and villages and on farms in Ontario and Nova Scotia.

These black former slaves began to face a new form of racism. They were subjected to a

variety of types of discrimination in many parts of the country. Several attempts, many unsuccessful, were made to establish all-black communities, so that they could escape the negative attitudes found in the general community. In spite of protests and demands for equal rights these attitudes and behaviours persisted until the mid twentieth century.

Treatment of Other Minorities

Racial problems in Canada however were not limited to mistreatment and denial of rights to blacks. Other non-white groups also faced a variety of types of ill treatment and denial of democratic rights. Following the arrival of the Chinese and South Asians in the mid-nineteenth century, these groups also faced prejudice, hostility and harassment in Canadian society, particularly in British Columbia where they were most numerous. The Chinese and South Asian population initially came to Canada in the mid-19th century to perform the hard, dirty work of building the railroads, working in the mines and forests, clearing the fields for farming, and other difficult and dangerous work.

Chinese and South Asians experienced little difficulty when their numbers were small and largely unnoticed. This situation changed dramatically when numbers increased and these groups were perceived as an economic threat to unskilled, unemployed workers seeking hard-to-find work. For example, several thousand Chinese workers brought to Canada to help build the Canadian Pacific Railroad, found themselves harassed and even assaulted when they sought other employment. Potential Chinese immigrants were subjected to an unprecedented "head tax" in order to prevent them from migrating to Canada. The federal government joined this

TO BE SOLD,
A BLACK WOMAN, named PEGGY, aged about forty years; and a Black boy her son, named JUPITER, aged about fifteen years, both of them the property of the Subscriber.

The Woman is a tolerable Cook and washer woman and perfectly understands making Soap and Candles.

The Boy is tall and strong of his age, and has been employed in Country business, but brought up principally as a House Servant—They are each of them Servants for life. The Price for the Woman is one hundred and fifty Dollars—for the Boy two hundred Dollars, payable in three years with Interest from the day of Sale and to be properly secured by Bond &c.—But one fourth less will be taken in ready Money.

PETER RUSSELL.

York, Feb. 10th 1806.



Advertisement courtesy of the Ontario Black History Society.

campaign of discrimination and hostility by enacting a "Chinese Exclusion Act" which effectively put an end to the immigration of the "yellow hordes" said to be destroying the country.

Even worse treatment was directed against the South Asians, most of whom were initially Sikhs. They were subjected to unparalleled hostility by residents of British Columbia in the early 20th century. "Hate literature" designed to arouse hostility was regularly distributed. That hostility finally resulted in the worst race riot in Canadian history when the Sikhs were forcibly driven from their homes, beaten up in the streets, and forced to flee for their lives.

The Japanese-Canadians have also been subjected to racist hostility and attack by Canadian residents. Being small in numbers, Japanese were to some extent, largely ignored during the early part of their residence in Canada. As their numbers increased and their hard work resulted in increasing prosperity, they also came under attack. However, they were spared the degree of hostility experienced by the Chinese and South Asians, that is, until the outbreak of World War II. The forcible detention of the Japanese, citizens and immigrants alike, in so called "resettlement camps," constituted perhaps the most flagrant

denial of civil and human rights in the history of Canada. This population was forcibly removed from their homes and properties without compensation and without the slightest concerns for their rights as Canadians, allegedly because they were considered a "threat to national security." No evidence was ever found to substantiate this allegation.

It is clear then, that alleged concern of Canadians for "law, order and good government" has not always been extended to its minority groups. Nevertheless, sociologists, historians and others who study the experiences of ethnic and racial groups in Canada generally concede that these problems are not as severe or widespread as those found in the United States and Great Britain. It would be difficult, however, to support the contention that this situation exists because Canadians are more tolerant or accepting of racial minorities than the residents of other countries.

Reaction to Change

The major reasons why the attitudes and behaviour of Canadians appear to be less racist than the populations of the United States and Great Britain are first; the numbers of so called "visible minorities" in Canada were relatively small, and second; they did not constitute an

economic or political threat. Restrictions on the immigration of non-whites by the Canadian government resulted in only a trickle of non-whites entering the country until changes in the Immigration Act in 1967. These changes removed the most blatant provisions of the former Act which had virtually closed the door to immigration by non-white individuals particularly from the so called "Third World" countries. Most of the small number of South Asians, Chinese and blacks who did manage to be admitted to Canada were from lower social economic groups; domestics, labourers, and other poorly educated and unskilled workers. These groups did not constitute a threat to the economic, social and political domination of the majority white population. Thus Canadians could enjoy the myth that Canadian society was less racist and less prone to overt prejudice and discrimination than American society.

This situation has changed drastically since the late 1960's. Changes in the Canadian Immigration Act noted above, have permitted increasing numbers of non-whites to migrate to Canada from non European countries. For example, in 1961, approximately 45% of immigrants came to Canada from Great Britain; less than 5% came from the West Indies. In 1976 British immigration had dropped considerably while almost half of all new immigrants came from so called "Third World countries."

In addition, while Canada still attracts some non-skilled workers, including several hundred domestics, there has been a large increase in the number of highly educated professional and business men and women arriving from non-white countries. The result has been a dramatic change in the racial characteristics of the Canadian population. Many Canadians, as Tienharra (1974) notes, "appear to have a mental image of an immigrant as a poor, starved, pathetic creature grateful to be given a new chance in our country...an image quite out of keeping with the high proportion of skilled and successful immigrants in Canada."

It is obvious, however, that many Canadians do not like the new situation. The numbers of non-white immigrants is increasing and many more non-white immigrants are

more visible and competing for high status occupations. Many new immigrants are demanding equal access to the benefits of living in a modern affluent society. The increasing overt discrimination, including physical assaults against the black and South Asian population is one result of these developments.

Studies of Prejudice

A number of recent studies, i.e. Roth (1967), Hughes (1970), Kallen (1974), Ramsharan (1975), Anderson and Grant (1975), Pitman (1977), Ubale (1977), and Head (1975 and 1981), clearly document the perceptions and experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination against non-whites in Canadian society. A perceptive study by Henry (1978) found that approximately 16% of a sample of white residents of Metropolitan Toronto expressed strongly racist attitudes. Another 35% reported mildly racist attitudes. Thus slightly more than half of all respondents expressed some degree of racism.

A recent poll conducted by the Gallup organization under contract with the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State indicated that among other findings respondents generally approved the fact that Canada is a multicultural country. Many want to maintain a fairly open immigration policy, and feel that non-white immigration has made Canada a "culturally richer country." On the other hand, more than a quarter of these respondents would rather see non-whites "back in their own country." A majority of almost three-fifths would "limit non-white immigrants and those permitted to enter would have to prove themselves before they were entitled to government services." It appears that these findings from other studies reflect what is labelled as "cognitive dissonance," or the fact that Canadian racial attitudes are based on conflicting values. First, many Canadians tend to believe in the "democratic creed," while, at the same time, not wanting to face the challenge which flows from this belief. Whatever the merits of these speculations, the non-white population of Canada is clearly demonstrating increasing resistance to accepting a "second class" position in Canadian society.

Resistance to Discrimination

While resistance to racist attitudes and behaviour is not new, and was frequently expressed in writings, speeches, and initiation of abolitionist societies during the early and mid-nineteenth centuries, it has only been in recent years that this resistance has taken on a more specifically organized form. The major organized attacks against Canadian racism have largely occurred since the second world war. In general these attacks have come from two basic sources; voluntary organizations and official public agencies. The voluntary organizations were first on the scene. It was the action of voluntary black organizations and their allies which pressured the Ontario Government to enact legislation forbidding discrimination in employment during the 1950's. Continuing pressure led to the enactment of an Ontario Human Rights Code in 1961, and the establishment of a Commission

in 1962. These developments did not occur in a vacuum; they were the results of sustained organized activity by minority groups over a period of time.

The Ontario Human Rights Code, the first of its kind in Canada, forbids discrimination on the basis of race, creed, colour, sex, national origin and a number of other grounds. Discrimination is prohibited in housing, employment, public accommodation and other areas. Similar codes have been enacted by the other nine provinces and by the federal government. It would be difficult to argue, however, that the establishment of human rights commissions has led to any considerable reduction in the nature and extent of prejudice and discrimination in the country. In general, the work of the commissions are based on the "conciliation model," that is, documented violations of the codes are not treated as "criminal behaviour" and subject to trials in courts of law. Individuals must file in-

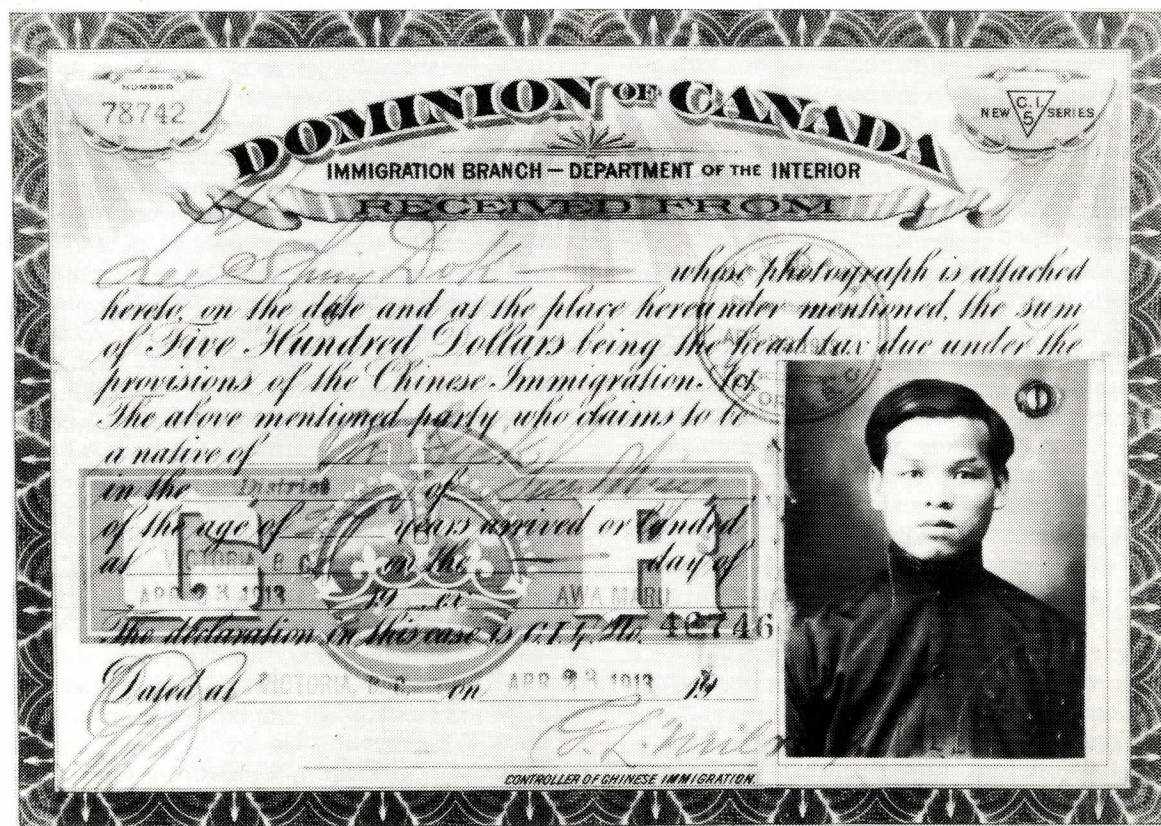


Photo courtesy of Public Archives Canada.

dividual complaints against private individuals or organizations. There is no provision for "class actions," that is, complaints against organizations and agencies on behalf of a defined group, for example Blacks, Chinese, South Asians, etc. Boards of Inquiry, the final step when efforts to conciliate fail, do have power to order compliance with the codes, but this is generally a long and tedious process. This "case by case" method avoids some of the difficulties of lengthy court trials, but the lack of power resources to initiate complaints and to monitor situations over a period of time are obvious limitations.

The result is that, according to recent studies, most complainants who feel that they have been the victims of discrimination do not bother to file a complaint. Many complainants are not aware of the existence of human rights commissions. Any objective examination of the record of most commissions will be quite mixed; many complaints have been resolved to the satisfaction of complainants, others have been deeply disillusioned with the results of their involvement in the conciliation process.

The limited success of official human rights agencies has, among other reasons, led to the development of numerous voluntary human rights organizations in Canada. These developments were intensified with the increasingly overt physical assaults on blacks and South Asians in the mid-seventies, particularly in the larger cities of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. The Urban Alliance on Race Relations and the Committee Against Racism in Metropolitan Toronto, the Black Solidarity Association in Vancouver, and other groups were direct outgrowths of these attacks. Older organizations, such as the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, and national ethnic organizations representing blacks, South Asians and Japanese became actively involved in race relations issues.

More recently, newer organizations, national and local, i.e. the Chinese Canadian National Council, the National Association of Canadians with Origins in India, the National Black Coalition of Canada, the Japanese Canadian Association, etc. have joined the struggle against racism in Canada both at the local and

national levels.

These groups have individually sponsored a number of conferences, symposia, workshops and other educational and lobbying programmes. More importantly, they have broken out of their former isolation by working together on a number of issues of common interest and concern. This cooperative activity possesses great potential since non-white organizations are generally small and lacking adequate resources, in human resources and financial support.

More recently, and partially as a result of federal financial support for race relations activities, the Ontario Federation of Labour has demonstrated considerable interest in race relations. The Federation chose "Racism Hurts Everyone" as its theme for several conferences held across the province of Ontario.

A focus on the need for Affirmative Action on behalf of racial minorities has recently become a major thrust of several race relations organizations and other groups, i.e. the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. The federal government has initiated affirmative action programmes on behalf of women, native peoples and handicapped individuals. However, these programmes are voluntary. There is no legislative backing, and as could be expected, the results are extremely small. The City of Toronto, and a few other municipalities have also become involved in developing affirmative action programmes, again, without mandatory legislative support.

Affirmative Action programmes are further handicapped by the lack of contract compliance requirements, that is, that all government contracts at whatever level, require the contractor to sign non-discriminatory clauses as a condition for being awarded the contract. The lack of an adequate data base is another obvious limitation.

Some Implications

The considerable amount of organizational development and activity indicated above suggests that race relations have now become a source of major concern in many segments of Canadian society. This is not to suggest that all Canadians are interested or

concerned with race relations issues; many Canadians, and particularly those in positions of considerable influence and power could not care less. But the incidence of change is undeniable, and these changes must have been a result of a variety of types of pressure.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the degree of progress achieved is remarkably small. Prejudice and discrimination are still very much a part of the Canadian scene, particularly in the area of employment, rental housing, relationships with the police and other law enforcement agencies, and with the mass media. The relative intractability of these problems and the difficulties of finding adequate solutions must not result in apathy or defeatism. First a clearer understanding of the basic causes of racism, sexism, ageism, and other forms of discrimination must be utilized in the struggle to achieve equality of opportunity in Canada.

These factors are deeply imbedded in Canadian economic, political and social structures. Racial and other forms of discrimination are viewed, when not entirely ignored by major decision makers, as merely peripheral and unimportant. Any significant change in this situation must of necessity be based on awareness of racial problems on the national agenda.

Second, a clearer definition of the goals and methods of organizational activity must be achieved. Considerable confusion still exists regarding the short and long term goals of specific programme activities. For example, is a specific activity...working to improve the relationship between the police and local citizens a goal in itself, or is it merely one step in a more comprehensive goal? Are we seeking the integration of racial groups into mainline white society, or are those who work for racial equality more concerned with separateness and conformity with the multicultural ideal of a Canadian mosaic?

Third, progress in eliminating or even seriously reducing prejudice and racial discrimination in Canadian society will depend on a much clearer awareness of the basic value system of Canadian society. It can be argued that Canadian society is inherently racist, sexist, ethnocentric and oppressive. Canadians have not restricted their prejudices to racial

minorities. Historically, Canadians have also penalized native peoples, the Irish, Ukrainians, Italians, Jews and other groups. If non-white groups did not exist, Canadians would probably have to identify someone else to oppress. An effective attack on Canadian racism must of necessity come to grips with the oppression inherent in its prevailing economic, political and social systems.

Fourth, the hypothesis that prejudice and discrimination are intensified in periods of economic difficulty is probably a valid evaluation. But it must not be forgotten that Canadians have been quite capable of engaging in a high level of racial discrimination in periods of economic prosperity. For example, the sixties and other periods of general prosperity were also characterized by high levels of racial discrimination, i.e. the treatment of Japanese Canadians and except in a few instances, the general refusal to accept blacks as first class citizens. Other factors must be identified and seriously examined in the development of short and long term strategies.

Finally, Canadians must face the fact that high levels of unemployment will probably persist over a long period of time. The increasing use of robots and other sophisticated computer controlled machines will undoubtedly have a massive effect on the lives and fortunes of Canadians. Many present economic and social problems will be intensified, thus leading to increasing fears and insecurities.

Racial and ethnic discrimination will not be solved in the absence of attention to these more general problems. Minorities must develop the awareness and capability to contribute to their solution. However necessary, it is not sufficient to merely react to manifestations of hostility and discrimination as these issues arise. It is much more important to focus on positive action directed toward desired change, to define specific goals and to mobilize and work with potential allies who share similar goals. This effort has already begun; much more remains to be done.

Dr. Wilson A. Head is Past President of the National Black Coalition of Canada, and the Urban Alliance on Race Relations.

Discrimination in Employment

What is the evidence?

Leon Muszynski

Data on the extensiveness and on the specifics of discrimination in employment against racial minorities are an essential component of a policy and programme strategy to combat discrimination. Yet these data are not generally available in Canada. There is widespread acceptance that discrimination does exist, but there is little acceptance that discrimination is widespread. Thus there is support for bodies such as the Ontario and Canadian Human Rights Commissions that serve as legal bodies protecting the rights of individuals who have experienced discrimination, but there is little support for programmes of affirmative action which attempt to improve the situation of minorities as a class.

We have compiled what evidence there is on the existence of discrimination in Metropolitan Toronto.¹ These consist of information on human rights caseloads, attitudinal surveys and statistical information on the income and employment situation of minorities. Individually they do not provide effective evidence of widespread discrimination. Taken together they offer a compelling case for recognizing discrimination against racial minorities as a systemic phenomenon. At the very least they provide the first level of information required in identifying discriminatory barriers to the employment of minorities.

Human Rights Caseloads

Of the total of 893 cases brought to the Ontario Human Rights Commission in 1980/81, 747 or 84 percent were complaints of discrimination in employment. Almost half of all of these cases were on the grounds of race and 58 percent on the grounds of nationality

or ancestry.² Thus, 40 percent of all cases handled by the Ontario Human Rights Commission in 1980/81 were on the grounds of racial and ethnic discrimination in employment. Since 1974-75, allegations of racial discrimination in employment and other areas have constituted 36-50 percent of all complaints resolved.³

The way in which human rights enforcement bodies operate requires that, in most cases, the individuals who perceive themselves to have been discriminated against lodge the complaint. Because discrimination is very often subtle or unintentional it is not obvious to the victim that they have been wronged. As a result most cases go unreported. There is also a fear of causing trouble which could have negative effects on a person's future employment-seeking efforts. And there is a general skepticism of the effectiveness of human rights bodies. In any case we cannot rely on individual allegations of discrimination as a measure of discrimination because there may not be an adequate reflection of the actual number of cases of discrimination. These data tell us discrimination exists and they tell us something about the way it exists but they tell us nothing about its magnitude or its impact.

Attitudinal Surveys

Studies of the attitudes of various ethnic and racial groups toward discrimination provide important inferential evidence of the existence of widespread discrimination. According to the Study of Ethnic Pluralism in Toronto in 1978 both Chinese and West Indian groups have had the highest proportion of respondents stating that they perceived discrimi-

mination in employment to be a problem.⁴ Three quarters of West Indians said it was a serious problem for their group; 24 percent of Chinese respondents, 22 percent of Italian, 17 percent of both Jewish and Portuguese respondents said that they thought that discrimination in employment was a serious problem for their groups.

Twenty-eight percent of West Indians and 29 percent of Chinese respondents reported that they had directly experienced discrimination trying to get a job. This was more than double the proportion responding positively for any other group.

Even majority Canadians are convinced that discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities is widespread. Almost 80 percent of majority Canadians felt that employers were discriminating against West Indians, and 54 percent said that employers are discriminating against people of Chinese origin. Approximately half said they think employers are also discriminating against Jews and people of Portuguese origin.

A study of racism in Toronto in 1978 by Dr. Frances Henry found that the majority of the white population sampled in Toronto held racist attitudes towards blacks and Asians.⁵ Over 15 percent held "very racist" attitudes while 35.2 percent held "somewhat racist" attitudes towards these same groups. It is reasonable to assume that such attitudes are present among people who make decisions about the employment of minorities and that these decisions are discriminatory. These data provide evidence of the existence of discrimination and they even tell us that it is likely widespread, but they do not provide objective information on magnitude and impact.

Income and Employment Data on Minorities

The most important data available to measure the existence and the impact of discrimination are those that provide information on the employment and income status of minorities in the labour force. We consider five different sources of data: 1) the 1971 census; 2) a 1969-1971 survey of recent immigrants to Canada conducted by Manpower and

Immigration; 3) a 1969-1970 survey of male household heads in Toronto; 4) the 1976 census; and 5) the 1978-1979 Ethnic Pluralism Study.

These data are derived from statistically representative samples of relevant population groups. They do have major weaknesses however. They often combine ethnic or racial groups, making analysis difficult and/or they do not control for factors affecting economic status. The most important weakness in the census data are the definitions of racial and ethnic groups. Race itself is not information requested from respondents. Mother tongue and country of origin are used and while they provide important information allowing inferences on racial background, they are not definitive measures of race. They do not, for example, measure the number of blacks in Canada who are Canadian or British in origin, of which there are large numbers.

A further problem with the first three sources is that they do not cover the period since 1971 when most racial minority groups, other than Chinese, settled in Canada. In 1970 it was estimated that 4 percent of the population of Metropolitan Toronto were black, Asian or native Canadians.⁶ Estimates in 1981 were that Toronto's non white population was at least 15 percent and probably more accurately 20 percent of the total population.⁷

The analysis of these earlier data also combine ethnic or racial groups which makes analysis difficult. Many do not control for factors that would influence economic or employment status.

Richmond and Verma analysed the mobility patterns of males in the labour force. After controlling for the effects of age and education they found that most European groups and also Asians experienced considerable mobility even within the first generation.⁸ But some groups were much less successful.

"Particularly notable is the economic deprivation of the French Charter group and the third-plus generation of 'other' origins, which consists mainly of native peoples and those of black and mixed racial origins."⁹

A 1980 report by Richmond and Kalbach also used 1971 census data for Toronto and other Canadian cities.¹⁰ They confirmed the

general pattern of upward mobility for heads of households aged 35-44 from most ethnic groups who are Canadian born. In 1970 Asian immigrants aged 35-44 earned an average of \$7,733 whereas the Canadian born of Asian origin earned an average of \$10,447, only about \$500 less than the corresponding group of British origin. Blacks as a group are not separately tabulated but a group listed as "all other" in their analysis, did not experience the same mobility. In their analysis of low income, in the same report, they concluded that:

"Those most likely to have low incomes were the third-plus generation of other ethnic origins of whom 47 percent were in the low income group; it should be noted that a large proportion of this category were Native Peoples and Canadians of Negro and West Indian origin."¹¹

Once again the evidence provided by the 1971 census is not conclusive. In this study education and other job qualifications are not separated out as independent variables affecting income. A 1976 study by Marr again using 1971 census data showed that unemployment rates for Third World immigrants to Ontario in 1969-71 were double the average for other immigrants. Also, male immigrants from Third World countries were found to have had lower incomes than other male immigrants in many specific occupations.

In a survey of immigrants conducted by the Department of Manpower and Immigration in 1969-71, respondents were followed-up over a three year period.¹² The survey was not restricted to Toronto, and the results were not analysed in terms of education or job qualifications. The findings of this study were that Third World immigrants experienced higher rates of unemployment in their first year in Canada; they were more frequently unable to find work in their chosen fields of work; and they earned less money. The income gap remained significant at least over the first three years in Canada. In an analysis of these and other data, the Economic Council of Canada concluded in 1978 that:

"In general, most immigrants start on the lowest rungs and work their way up the social ladder of the host society so

that over a generation or two, they need not be identified by their initially low social status. Although long-run longitudinal data are not available on this point, there remains the presumption that upward mobility may be especially difficult for members of a 'visible' ethnic minority."¹⁴

Goldlust and Richmond analysed a 1969-70 survey of male household heads in various ethnic groups in Toronto. Because of the relatively small number of blacks and Asians in the Toronto population, these groups constituted only about 3 percent of the sample and they were combined.¹⁵ Goldlust and Richmond attempted to separate ethnicity as a determinant of incomes by means of regression analysis. They controlled for social origins, years of education, present occupational status, age, years of residence in Toronto, and years of post secondary education. The analysis showed that given an equivalence among all ethnic groups on all of these characteristics, immigrant men of Slavic mother tongue earned \$1,200 less than they should have, Greek and Portuguese earned \$1,400 less, and those of black and Asian origin were earning \$2,900 less than what was expected. The authors interpreted these findings as evidence of discriminatory barriers to the employment of blacks and Asians.

In a special tabulation of the 1976 census for the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, the unemployment rate in Metropolitan Toronto for people reporting an Indo-Pakistani mother tongue was 12 percent or double the average rate of unemployment for that year. Hispanics and those with Chinese mother tongues also had above average rates of unemployment.

The most recent data are those produced by the 1978-79 Ethnic Pluralism Study. This study surveyed relatively large representative samples of both males and females of selected ethnic groups in Metropolitan Toronto. It included those of Chinese origin and West Indian blacks, but did not include South Asians or Hispanics.

In an analysis of these data by Reitz *et al.*, incomes of those of Chinese origins were found to be as high as the incomes of most other income groups including "majority

Canadians."¹⁶ Both West Indians and Portuguese male incomes were lower on average by roughly \$3,000. This suggests that the previous findings of Goldlust and Richmond for Asians and blacks needs to be interpreted in light of the much higher incomes for those of Chinese origin and much lower incomes for blacks. Among women, Italian and West Indian women had incomes of \$6,000 less than those of majority Canadians.

Controls were established on those factors which were independent of ethnic status but which could influence levels of income such as education, work experience, and knowledge of English. These results showed that males in some immigrant groups, notably Italians, earned high incomes relative to their education. It also found that Chinese men underearned by about \$500 compared to majority Canadians and West Indian black men underearned by \$2,400. The inequalities experienced by women were even greater. Several visible minority group women underearned by several thousand dollars. Chinese women underearned by \$3,500 and West Indian black women underearned by \$3,800 in relation to majority Canadians.

Reitz went on to investigate the dynamics of labour market segregation. He found that three groups – Italian, Portuguese, and West Indian – had low job status (measured on the Blishen job status scale) and were also segregated or over-concentrated in occupations with low job status and low incomes. However, they differed in two major respects.

The low job status of Italians and Portuguese was related to their low levels of formal education. For West Indians who are on the whole well educated, this is not the case. Their exclusion from high status jobs occur for other reasons and the most likely one is the prevalence of discriminatory barriers.

Only the incomes of Italian men were close to the levels of income of majority Canadian men despite the low job status of Italian men. All others, i.e., Italian women, Portuguese men and women, and West Indian men and women, had incomes that were commensurate with their low job status. Italian men that earned high incomes were often concentrated in occupations or work settings that paid high income but had low job status. Those West In-

dians and Portuguese workers that earned high incomes tended to work in non-segregated occupations and work settings. Those that earned low incomes worked in segregated occupations. Sixty-eight percent of West Indian men in Toronto were found to be working in segregated low income occupations. Fifty-seven percent of West Indian women were working in segregated low income occupations such as nursing and hospital orderlies.

Those West Indian men who were concentrated in some high status occupations such as medical doctors were actually earning much lower incomes than would be expected on the basis of their education and their job status.

Based on his analysis Reitz suggested that groups that have historically experienced discrimination or disadvantage such as Italians and Jews, tend to earn high incomes only when they work in occupations that are in some way protected by their own groups.

These findings provide some evidence of barriers in the labour market that are not related to job qualification but to racial or ethnic characteristics. Research on dual labour or segmented labour markets in Canada is not extensive. What research does exist points to the existence of 'internal' labour market structures where, depending upon the occupation or industry, different rules and procedures apply for hiring and promotion. These different rules and procedures will serve to further segregate different groups to different occupational roles based more on custom and the preference of employers than sound hiring criteria. There is certainly a need for much more extensive research on labour market segmentation in Canada.

While these data provide compelling evidence that discriminatory barriers to the employment and promotion of minorities, especially visible minorities, exists in Toronto, and that it is probably extensive, it is important to acknowledge that it is insufficient evidence. Critics of affirmative action policies claim that differences in income and occupational status may be related to other social factors than discriminatory barriers in the employment system. These include the socialization of groups to assume certain occupational roles by the family, the school, and

peer groups. They conclude that changes should be directed not at employer practices but at the institutions of society that influence people's attitudes.

We cannot effectively respond to this assertion with social data showing disproportionate representation, lower income, or even higher unemployment alone. Social data provides the first step in identifying discrimination. The next step requires detailed research into the impact of procedures used in specific industries and by specific employers. Where

differential impact as a result of these procedures is identified, the third step required is to develop methods of objectively validating the criteria used by employers to judge suitability for employment or promotion. Such detailed research in other countries has provided overwhelming evidence of the pervasiveness of discriminatory barriers against minorities in all aspects of the employment system.

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Affirmative Action

Earl Miller

Affirmative action and *l'action positive* are two phrases which by their sound suggest something dynamic: a concept which links the process of confirmation with a movement forward. Is affirmative action something to cheer about? Many of us think so. But in some circles, affirmative action is threatening. To some it represents an intervention between the employer and the supply of labour in the market place. To others, affirmative action is a potential, catalytic tool, which can lead to escalating demands for broad system change.

On both counts, the threatened parties are right. An affirmative action programme that is designed and implemented with full integrity is intended to change the status quo. In situations where workplace relations affect racial and ethnic minorities, it is evident that the status quo needs to be changed.

What is affirmative action?

In its broadest sense, affirmative action is any practice, programme or decision which is intended to remove barriers and facilitate the advancement of racial and ethnic minorities, women, disabled people, or other disadvantaged groups. Affirmative action can be initiated in a number of settings: the workplace; colleges and universities; professional and technical schools; public boards, committees and special purpose bodies; government advisory councils; etc.

In all cases affirmative action programmes have certain common features. It is an explicit and planned effort to involve groups that have been historically excluded or discriminated against; it is intended to eliminate the barriers which have resulted in exclusion or unequal treatment, and to replace these barriers with practices that are fair; it is results-oriented. The success of a programme is judged in the light of measurable goals and timetables, and, its ongoing implementation is protected by an organized system for monitoring and follow-

up.

In the workplace, affirmative action focuses on promoting equal treatment in systems of employee recruitment and hiring, personnel training and development, wages, salaries, benefits and employee promotion and transfer. In pursuing the objective of *inclusion* as opposed to exclusion, workplace affirmative action is intended to eliminate practices which reward employees unequally according to criteria which are not job related, such as on the basis of race, colour, national origin, sex, or physical disability. These unequal practices are to be replaced by procedures which compensate for past discrimination and which allocate future rewards on the basis of merit.

Affirmative action in the workplace takes on a special significance. The workplace is the focal point for the exchange between labour and the owners and managers of productive capital. Consequently, it is an arena where change in the employment system is highly controversial. Workplace affirmative action can also be initiated within unions to ensure greater minority participation in union locals, to deal with racist incidents on the shop floor and to build non-discrimination goals into the collective bargaining process.

From another perspective, it is through quality working conditions, employment security, adequate income and future opportunity, that many of us feel integrated into society and capable of participating in its institutions. Fair treatment in the workplace is thus a vital part of achievement in the areas of social inclusion, social justice and social development.

Any explanation of affirmative action and its potential in the workplace must stress that its primary purpose is behavioural or system change and not attitude change. The expression, "When you've got 'em by the vitals their minds will follow," is a graphic, but apt illustration of the way in which advocates of affir-

mative action view the relationship between behaviour and attitudes. "You don't have to love us, just hire and promote us equally," is an expression used in a similar vein. The point is that regardless of human intent, it is the results in changed employment practices and in the number of previously underutilized persons who are recruited, hired, developed and promoted, which distinguishes authentic affirmative action programmes from imaginative, but largely symbolic facsimiles. Affirmative action goes further than equal opportunity programmes. Because it not only stresses equality of access to employment, it actively pursues equality of employment results.

Why are affirmative action programmes for minorities needed?

It is difficult to appreciate why affirmative action is being advocated unless something is said about the social and economic context from which it has emerged.

Affirmative action is an innovation from the United States. The concept, which is legally enshrined in Title VII of the U.S. Civil Rights of 1964, evolved out of decades of struggle by black people, women, and more recently, disabled people, for equal rights. The civil rights movement in the United States was a broad-based popular front aimed at securing legal protection against discrimination at all levels of community life – on the job, in the courts, in housing, in education, in social services and in politics. Affirmative action in employment evolved as a tool to enable people who were victims of job discrimination, to actively correct the situation.

It is essential to recognize that affirmative action emerged as a response to the historic and systematic mistreatment of groups of people. Racism, sexism, and discrimination against the handicapped were regarded as institutional problems, which warranted an institutional and legally enforced remedy. It was acknowledged that the victim was not to blame for racial inequality. The systematic mistreatment of people of colour in the United States for centuries resulted in institutionalized inequalities in the social and

economic structure. Racism was at the same time both a cause and effect, of a self-perpetuating imbalance in economic, political and social power. This imbalance consistently favoured majority ethnic groups at the expense of others. Such an imbalance could only be counteracted by the rigorous affirmation of equal rights, through laws and programmes, that were applicable at all levels of society.

The evolution of affirmative action has proceeded in conjunction with increasing recognition that racism, sexism, and discrimination against the handicapped are institutional as well as attitudinal in character. This recognition supports the view that both *systemic* and individual sources of discrimination must be addressed, if equal treatment is to result. For this reason, three types of discrimination are now the common targets of affirmative action in the workplace: overt discrimination – whereby a person is not recruited, hired, or promoted as a result of the employer's individual bias against the person's colour, ancestry, sex or other characteristic; unequal treatment – which involves the application of different employment policies, regulations or practices to different groups of employees, as when employees at the same level are given different wages based on race, ethnicity, sex, or physical condition; and systemic discrimination – which refers to employment practices that unintentionally have the effect of excluding minorities, women, or other groups. Most often this results when procedures that are not related to job performance are used. For example, employers sometimes set unnecessarily high educational requirements for certain jobs, thereby eliminating competent people who lack academic credentials.

In the United States, when people are excluded from jobs for reasons that are not necessary for the efficient and safe operation of business, then they are being discriminated against. But what about Canada? If affirmative action in employment is justified by the pursuit of equality, against a history of individual prejudice and institutional inequality, what then is the Canadian experience?

Like the United States, Canada is an unequal society. Today the top 20% of income earners in Canada receive over 40% of total

family income. In contrast, the bottom 20% of income earners share about 5.9% of total income. This unequal pattern of income distribution has remained virtually unchanged for over forty years. The principle means for redistributing wealth – the tax system and the social welfare system – confer benefits on rich and poor alike, so that in relative terms, nothing changes much.

Within this larger framework of social and economic inequality, minority, female, and disabled workers are disadvantaged by higher levels of unemployment, relatively lower rates of pay for comparable work, exclusion from high status jobs and harassment in the workplace.

It is true that race relations in Canada has a different history than in the United States; most people of colour in Canada are recent immigrants, although native people have lived here for millennia, and blacks and orientals have been inhabitants for more than a century. The relationship of most minorities to the dominant Canadian culture mirrors the relationship between the third and first worlds. Parallels to the experiences of minorities in the United States are, therefore, not always apt.

However, there are numerous indications, that over the years, institutional discrimination against minorities has been a feature of Canadian life. This is illustrated by the following selected events:

- In 1689, Louis XIV of France legalized slavery in the colony of New France. The slave trade, which included native Indians as well as Africans, was not formally abolished until 1834 in Canada.
- Segregated schools for whites and non-whites existed in Nova Scotia, Ontario and New Brunswick until well into this century.
- In 1884, Canadian legislation imposed a head tax on Chinese immigrants to effectively curtail their legal entry.
- In 1909, to prevent immigration from the Indian subcontinent, the Canadian government required that all immigrants had to reach Canadian ports by a single continuous voyage.
- During World War II, Japanese-Canadians were systematically interned and their property was confiscated, without the right of

appeal or compensation.

- Until the late 1940s, Chinese and Japanese Canadians were denied the right to vote and thus denied entry into professions such as law and pharmacy, which were open only to those with voting rights.
- Until 1960, native people did not have the right to vote.

Research studies have provided more recent evidence that minorities face unequal treatment in the workplace.

- A 1969-71 survey of immigrants conducted by Manpower and Immigration found that compared to other immigrants, Third World immigrants experienced higher rates of unemployment, earned less money, and were frequently unable to find employment in their chosen fields of work.
- A 1969-79 survey of ethnic heads of households found that after equalizing the effects of social origin, years of education, present occupational status and years of residence in Toronto, Asians and blacks earned less than other groups with comparable skills.
- A 1980 study based on the 1971 census found that the occurrence of poverty was probably greatest among very recent immigrants, pre-war immigrants and third-plus generation Canadians who belong to non-white minority groups, including native Indians, blacks and Orientals.
- Evidence from Ontario Human Rights Commission cases indicates that in 1980, 40% of all cases handled by the commission were on the grounds of racial and ethnic discrimination in employment. This is the single largest category of complaint that the commission handles.
- Finally, studies of attitudes and perceptions of various ethnic groups show that 28% of West Indians and 29% of Chinese perceive that they have experienced job discrimination. The same study shows that 80% of majority Canadians perceive that employers discriminate against some non-white groups.

In Canada, the unequal treatment of minorities is an historic legacy. This fact, coupled with current evidence that workplace discrimination is a problem for minorities, provide ample justification for advocating affirmative action.

In Metropolitan Toronto, it is estimated that about 20% of the population are non-white minorities. Minorities are therefore, a permanent fact in the workplace. Utilizing the skills of minority workers to the maximum, within a framework of job equality, should therefore be a major component of labour force strategies in all sectors.

What steps are needed to successfully implement affirmative action?

To be effective, an affirmative action programme depends upon a combination of factors. In the workplace these include a legal framework which prohibits discrimination in its various forms and which provides strong incentives or penalties that will result in fair employment practices; a serious commitment by the employer to address discrimination and underutilization problems and to carry out needed changes; the development of an affirmative action plan, which identifies workplace barriers, sets equal employment goals and timetables, establishes a monitoring procedure and provides mechanisms for employee input.

The fate of any affirmative action programme, however, is fundamentally affected by the political climate of the society into which it is introduced. The extent to which the problems of racism, sexism, and handicapism have a priority ranking on the political agenda determines whether affirmative action will get the legal, administrative and financial support that is inevitably required.

In Ontario, the evolution of affirmative action legislation, like the evolution of human rights safeguards, has been cautious and incremental. There is no intention in this province now, or in the short term, to make affirmative action mandatory. Racism, sexism, and other forms of unequal treatment are not yet considered serious enough to compel individuals and institutions to refrain from oppressive behaviour. Consequently, while Ontario prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, sex, creed, disability and other characteristics, penalties for non-compliance are not severe, significant gaps exist in enforcement of the Human Rights Code and affirmative ac-

tion is voluntary. This is the case in spite of the evidence that institutional discrimination in Canada is historic and widespread. The belief in voluntarism is maintained, even though it is clear that U.S. employers began to seriously undertake equal employment initiatives, only after the law had made discrimination costly.

At the workplace level it is important to openly promote a non-discriminatory employment policy; assign senior administrative responsibility for the affirmative action programme; involve unions in decision-making; collect and analyze workforce utilization data; review personnel policies; set measurable goals for system change; and conduct programme evaluation and follow-up.

These steps, if supported by the right combination of administrative leadership and financial and technical support, can produce results. In Ontario, the limited take-up of affirmative action by the private sector under voluntary initiative suggests that stronger incentives or penalties are needed, if equality in the workplace is to become a reality.

Why support affirmative action?

When there are laws which tell people not to discriminate and which require that they actively create equal employment opportunities, then the problem of winning support for affirmative action diminishes in importance. *They have to go along.* In a voluntary environment, advocating affirmative action becomes a complex problem. Employers and management personnel must be persuaded that affirmative action can result in more equitable and efficient employment processes; improved staff motivation and morale; lower rates of turnover and absenteeism; improved human resources planning and an enhanced corporate image. Labour leaders must be convinced that affirmative action will lead to improved working conditions for their members; stronger protection of workers' rights; fairer distribution of salary and benefit packages and more objective criteria for staff development and promotion. Governments must be persuaded that affirmative action can contribute to more harmonious industrial re-

lations; the promotion of equity and social justice; and the political integration of disadvantaged and alienated groups.

Fortunately, affirmative action can have many of these effects and is therefore worthy of support. But what if it didn't? Would that mean that the equal employment rights of minorities and other groups should not be actively pursued or guaranteed? Could business, labour and government *voluntarily* withdraw their support of affirmative action, on the grounds that it did not satisfy their self-interest?

This is the trap that voluntary affirmative action can lead to. It makes equal employment rights hostage to the marketing techniques of the promoter and to the prospect of higher profits, better working conditions and greater political loyalty. If the goods aren't delivered, then the rights aren't either. This is why, in times of economic crisis like the present, attempts to extend minority rights have received such a feeble response from almost all sectors of the employment system.

I believe that business, labour and government should support affirmative action for minorities because minorities are entitled to equal employment rights. This entitlement, by itself, is reason enough. The positive side-effects of affirmative action are valued, *but they should never be the conditions upon which equal employment rights are granted.* There is only one condition under which it is tolerable to permit the equal employment rights of minorities. This is to be dependent upon the self-interest of others when the penalties for discrimination make it in everyone's self-interest to uphold the rights of minorities equally.

What is the special role of community groups?

We are at a critical point in our history, when many of the anticipated gains from struggles in the 1960s and 70s are either being placed on hold, or are being withdrawn. Funding cutbacks to voluntary organizations and to advocacy units in government have made it increasingly difficult to undertake effective public education, aimed at stimulating

progressive change. These developments reflect our historic dependency on economic good times. To make significant head-way in the human rights field, however, it is precisely in times of economic hardship that those who face unequal treatment, including many racial and ethnic minorities, are particularly vulnerable.

The challenge of economic recession has also brought with it some opportunities. Labour unions, social agencies, boards of education and local governments – as places where the tension is being expressed – are increasingly speaking out against racism. Some are attempting solutions through race relations training, union seminars, English-as-a-second-language instruction, public education campaigns, non-discrimination policies and forms of affirmative action. These are promising signs and their continuation must be encouraged.

This is where activists who work in community groups and in affirmative action programmes have a vital role. Strong leadership is needed at the community level, to build a broad-based alliance in support of equal rights. Specifically, mandatory affirmative action in employment must become a major theme of research, public education and advocacy work that is relevant to minorities. The political will to eliminate inequality at work in this province has to be created by those who have alternate visions, by those who organize and plan strategically, and by those who vote. The message, that discrimination in the workplace and elsewhere is a problem that we want solved, is a message that must be emphatically delivered by community activists, unions and by enlightened people in business and government.

Minority leaders must be on the cutting edge of this dynamic movement toward change. Ultimately, it is those of us who are black, yellow, red and brown who are responsible for the strongest and most eloquent advocacy of our rights. Affirmative action is one of a number of very useful strategies. So I say to my brothers and sisters of colour, let's seize the opportunity and take it to them!

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Debunking the Myth

The American Experience with Affirmative Action

Paul Scott

Most Canadians have derived their understanding of the concept of affirmative action, as well as how a mandatory affirmative action programme functions and is enforced, from the experience of our American neighbours. The prevailing Canadian view of the U.S. programme seems to be that it is immoral, over-regulated and ineffective. Critics argue on the one hand, that employers have been forced by a heavy-handed bureaucracy to hire unqualified minority workers and women, over qualified white males. This has resulted in charges of reverse discrimination. On the other hand, Canadian minority group members will claim that the programme has been manipulated by cynical, uncommitted employers, to the benefit of no one, except perhaps white women.

The United States government has two distinct bases for requiring mandatory affirmative action: contract compliance and mandatory affirmative action based on a finding of discrimination. The Federal Contract Compliance Program (OFCCP) began in 1941, as a tool for prohibiting racial discrimination by defence contractors. Since that time, the programme has gradually become more comprehensive and pro-active. Today, it seeks to ensure that women and minorities have equal opportunity and access to entry level positions, in all those companies which hold contracts with the federal government.

All federal contractors are required to prepare and submit an affirmative action plan, which includes a statistical analysis of the utilization of women and minorities in the company's workforce. This is compared to the availability of qualified women and minorities in the labour market, to determine whether their representation is proportional. In addition, the contractor's employment systems are reviewed and evaluated, to determine whether they are discriminatory, or have an unnecessary adverse impact on women and minorities. If it is found that the

contractor underutilizes or is discriminating against women and minorities, the development of a remedial plan of action is required. Goals and timetables are included in the plan of action.

Contrary to popular belief, the failure of a contractor to meet stated goals, or achieve a standard of utilization appropriate to external availability will not necessarily result in sanctions if the contractor has made every good faith effort to meet the programme's objectives. However, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance can invoke sanctions, if it finds that a contractor has violated the contract's equal opportunity clause. The range of sanctions includes referral to the statutory human rights body, cancellation or termination of the contract, or debarring the contractor from all future federal contracts.

Only rarely have the severest sanctions been imposed. In the past ten years less than twenty debarments have occurred. The real strength of the programme seems to lie in the model and assistance provided by the compliance agency, and in the threat of sanctions.

The legislative basis for mandatory affirmative action outside compliance, is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which applies to all employers. The federal, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is empowered by Title VII, to investigate complaints of employment discrimination, redress grievances and prescribe a conciliatory remedy where discrimination is found to have occurred. Affirmative action is usually the prescribed remedy. Title VII has recently been described as the "spur" or "catalyst," which along with compliance provisions, has caused many U.S. employers and unions to voluntarily self-examine or self-analyze their employment practices, to endeavour to eliminate discrimination and its effects. Through voluntary action, many employers have not only avoided law suits and expensive settlements,

but have also been able to develop their own unique anti-discrimination measures, which go far beyond the minimum requirements of the law. In fact, in a landmark decision, *Furnco v. Waters*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that any system which an employer implements in order to effectively eliminate discrimination meets the requirements of the law.

The model of affirmative action, which was adopted by the U.S. courts and enforcement agencies represents a comprehensive response to the problem of discrimination. Affirmative action was not designed to address individual pathology; its aim is to systematically dismantle those widespread and entrenched patterns of discrimination, which have become institutionalized in employment systems, and, which routinely confer privileges and advantages upon the dominant group, while imposing penalties and disadvantages upon minorities and women. Discrimination, both systemic and structural, is capable of converting what appears to be neutral acts, into further discrimination. In *Griggs vs. the Duke Power Company* (1971), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a job requirement equally applied to all applicants, but which has a negative impact on blacks, and cannot be justified by business necessity, is illegal.

U.S. affirmative action programmes, to be effective, have had to be as comprehensive as the problem which they are designed to remedy. According to guidelines established by both the EEOC and the OFCCP, there are a number of basic elements in a programme. An organization must make a written commitment providing for equal opportunity and disseminate this policy, within the organization and to the surrounding community. A senior official must be assigned adequate authority and resources to implement an affirmative action plan. The organization would then identify underutilization and discriminatory barriers in order to develop a plan which removes these barriers, overcomes the causes of underutilization and aim towards the representative utilization of women and minorities, by means of goals and timetables.

According to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programmes, a goal is stated as a percentage of the total employees in the

job group. Ultimate goals must be equal to the available percentage, or an estimate of available women and minorities. A timetable is generated to achieve the ultimate goal within a feasible time period. Finally, monitoring systems to evaluate progress and hold officials accountable for progress or a lack thereof are put in place. Organizational and community support for the objectives of the plan are then promoted.

The range of measures which employers have adopted in their affirmative action plans is broad and continues to expand. To determine the appropriateness of a particular affirmative action remedy, one must return to the problem – how does the discrimination manifest itself and how can it be best dismantled? In a long series of decisions, the U.S. courts have attempted to clarify what is appropriate and just, in an affirmative action programme. There is widespread acceptance of such measures as outreach recruitment and accelerated training programmes. However, firing or retiring whites or men, in order to increase the participation of minorities and women, remains a universally condemned practice. It is those measures which fall into the middle of the spectrum which have generated the greatest controversy and stimulated charges of reverse discrimination.

Ratio and percentage selection techniques have been approved of in some cases by the courts, as in the example of the *United Steelworkers of America vs. Weber* (1979), where Kaiser Aluminum and United Steelworkers of America undertook a programme to guarantee a percentage of training spaces to black workers, until a goal for black representation in the workforce had been met. Perhaps the most celebrated quota case in U.S. law is *The Regents of the University of California vs. Allan Bakke* (1978). Bakke, a white, medical school entrance candidate was denied admission, while minority candidates with lower qualifications were admitted as part of an affirmative action plan. In both the *Weber* and *Bakke* cases, the affirmative action plans merely reduced the share of white men as a group, to what it would have been, had it not been for entrenched patterns of discrimination against women and minorities.

The necessary emphasis which relevant

U.S. agencies have placed on numerical goals for the increase of women and minorities in organizations, has often led both critics and proponents of the programme, to confuse statistical underrepresentation of women and minorities with discrimination itself. It has also, in some cases, reduced the use of statistics in Affirmative Action Plans to a numbers game, which makes the manipulation of data the primary element of a plan. It changes the objectives of affirmative action plans, from the subversion of discriminatory processes, to ensuring that various clearly defined groups receive specified percentages of resources and opportunities. This misunderstanding has occasionally led employers to bypass the self-analysis and problem-identification phases and merely establish quotas. This act, which runs contrary to the guideline of both the EEOC and OFCCP, has in turn led to charges that affirmative action sacrifices quality considerations to numerical goals, and requires the hiring of unqualified women and minority workers.

In *Griggs vs. the Duke Power Company* (1971), the United States Supreme Court clearly established that the criteria of job relatedness and business necessity are illegal as major determinants of whether a practice excludes or adversely impacts on women and minorities where there are no safe and efficient alternatives. An employer is not required to sacrifice productivity and profitability to meet affirmative action goals. Many American companies have, in fact, embraced affirmative action with its emphasis on analysis and plan development, as a natural complement to their human resource plans. In a company publication, officials of Mobil Oil Corporation state the view that, "Equal Opportunity enlarges the talent pool. It makes more people, more choices, more options available to the company and the individual Mobil manager." Similarly, senior managers at AT&T, which had a controversial equal opportunity consent decree imposed upon it in 1973, believe that affirmative action delivered real benefits. It facilitated the movement of employees into new and often non-traditional jobs, expanded the pool of available staff and helped to reduce turnover. Productivity is not the victim in an affirmative action programme.

This theme of acceptance of affirmative action is one which is increasingly echoed by Americans in a variety of quarters. A 1978 study of employer attitudes toward affirmative action, commissioned by the Barnhill Hayes Management Consulting firm, indicated that 94% of employers believed affirmative action had helped to advance the cause of women and minorities, and 50% believed that business had been asked to assume only its fair share of responsibility, with regard to eliminating discrimination.

American employers support compulsory affirmative action

A 1979 survey of American employers showed that a large number of federal contractors believed that affirmative action had improved their human resource systems and business practices. Only a minority opinion held that voluntary affirmative action programmes in the U.S. could have achieved the same ends, but more slowly.

A 1980 Conference Board Report by Ruth Gilbert Scaeffler noted that senior personnel executives have come to view their affirmative action programmes from a different perspective. Not only do the programmes assist them in more efficient and effective human resource utilization, but the reporting requirements provide them with detailed information about the numbers of people in meaningful job groupings and the movement of women and minority employees into, between and out of these groupings during specified time periods.

In 1981, the U.S. Senate Committee on Labour and Human Resources undertook a 12 month study of Executive Order 11246 under the chairmanship of Senator Orin G. Hatch. During hearings of the Committee, contractors exhibited an overwhelming commitment

to the goals of the Affirmative Action Programme, as well as the process. What emerged, however, was an overwhelming demand for a restructuring of the OFCCP, to further pursue the cooperative as opposed to the punitive approach, which had developed between the OFCCP and the employer community.

The minority, female and civil rights communities also express guarded support of affirmative action. Leah Cohen, in a summary of the American Contract Compliance Programme, reported that there was general satisfaction with the gains made to date, however, there was universal criticism that equal opportunity for upward mobility has not really been implemented. In testimony before the Senate Committee, civil rights groups spoke strongly in favour of the intent of affirmative action legislation and pointed repeatedly to the success of the programme, a success they were able to measure both in terms of general statistics and in terms of the impact the programme has had on individuals.

There is statistical evidence that women and minorities have made considerable progress under affirmative action programmes. AT&T reported that over the six years of its court-imposed affirmative action programme, six years characterized by low growth and technological change, minority representation in the organization increased by 2 percentage points, or by almost 30,000 people. Evidence presented to Senator Hatch's Committee showed that as a direct result of affirmative action, the number of women applying for mining jobs at Peabody Coal Company increased from none in 1972, to 1131 in 1978. IBM shows an increase of minority employees from 1978 to 1980 of 3,328 employees; of particular significance was an increase in minority employees of 24% in the manager category over this period. It is clear that the programme has provided women and minorities with job opportunities which would not otherwise have been available to them.

In 1980, with the election of the Republican administration, it appeared to many that the U.S. affirmative action programme stood at the crossroads. Many feared that the programmes would die due to lack of commitment and lack of funding. However, as

the months pass, it is becoming clear that there exists a strong commitment in the U.S., to the principle of anti-discrimination embodied in the Federal Contracts Compliance Programme and Title VII and to the process of human resource development, which is inherent in the affirmative action procedures prescribed by the EEOC and the OFCCP. There exists today no debate about whether the U.S. government should continue its investment in affirmative action; the only debate is perhaps around the structure and style of the regulatory bodies.

Paul Scott is Chief, Affirmative Action, Ontario Regional Office, Employment and Immigration Canada.

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INITIATIVES

Youth and Employment

Experiences from Canada, Britain and the United States

Although many of the disadvantages suffered by young unemployed people from non-white minorities are the same as those suffered by other young unemployed people, available evidence points to a number of additional factors which cause 'non-white' minority young people to face higher levels of joblessness.¹ A variety of social, cultural and economic factors have meant that certain minorities lack adequate skills and educational qualifications. Discrimination by employers also serves to keep minorities out of jobs. Employers must recognize that simply claiming 'that everyone is treated the same' does not automatically ensure that no one is disadvantaged or discriminated against. Informal recruiting procedures and hiring and selection practices, for example, can lead to indirect discrimination.

In order to improve the position of non-white minority youth in the labour market, public policies need to be developed that are flexible, and programmes need to be implemented that are localized and individualized.

1. Youth Unemployment in a Low Income Area of Toronto, CEIC, Toronto 1978
Youth Employment Strategy Study, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, April 1982

An Ontario Government Summer Project:



Employment Training for Non-White Youth

Selwyn McSween

In 1981, the Race Relations Division of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, working together with the Christian Leadership Council and the Toronto Downtown Business Council, implemented a successful pilot programme through which it obtained employment for approximately 36 youths of various ethnic backgrounds residing in Regent Park. During the past summer, it extended its focus to the Jane-Finch area. Consequently, a total of 100 youths were employed mainly in technical, commercial and social service settings, at the statutory minimum wage. Salaries were paid by the Ministry of Labour through a grant of \$127,000 from the Ontario Youth Secretariat.

Some of the distinguishing features of

this programme can be observed in terms of recruitment, business outreach, training and community outreach.

In selecting programme participants, consideration was given to youth aged between 15 and 24 who lacked work experience, and who would ordinarily encounter difficulty in obtaining employment. While this preference was exercised in respect of youth in general it was applied especially towards non-white youth, who are usually placed at a disadvantage in the educational system and the labour market.

Instead of awaiting applications, OHRC staff actively canvassed the targeted communities in search of candidates. During this exercise flyers were distributed at locales frequented by youth and discussions were held with youth wherever possible such as in community centres or other social agencies. For the purpose of identifying clients likely to benefit from the programme, staff also obtained the assistance of community workers attached to approximately 30 organizations, including those directly involved in youth employment.

A special effort was made to avoid the imposition of restrictive requirements. Thus, single parents, students of grade 10 and below, as well as school dropouts, were ad-

mitted to the programme. Interestingly, the documentation process by which participants became "employees" of the Ministry of Labour, was conducted by the Personnel Branch in centres located in Jane-Finch and Regent Park, rather than at Ministry of Labour facilities.

In order to obtain job placements for programme participants, liaison was established with umbrella business organizations such as the Board of Trade and the Downtown Business Council. Information kits were also distributed to individual business establishments and job descriptions were solicited in order to ensure an efficient match of candidates. These efforts were so successful that they produced a surplus of job offers.

In addition, eight youths were placed in employment with the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force, as a means of fostering mutual understanding, and another eight were assigned community leadership roles within the framework of the Positive Peer Culture Programme in Downsview.

In a very small minority of cases, job matchings proved tenuous because the expectations of either the participant or the employer were not met. Acting on the principle that flexibility and patience were required in a programme of this nature, these participants were re-assigned and alternate candidates were provided to the employers. The vast majority of the placements remained stable, and employers as well as employees have praised the programme in the highest terms.

Another distinguishing characteristic of the programme was the emphasis upon life-skills and employment counselling. Before being placed in employment, participants were counselled for a full week. Having begun their employment, they were allowed time off in order to attend sessions held each Friday afternoon. The sessions were designed to accommodate a wide range of interests. Through films, various speakers and group-building exercises, participants were introduced to job search and interview techniques, community-police relations, legal issues, interpersonal relations and other job skills. The overall objective was to create a positive self-image and confidence necessary for defining goals and

for effective performance within the educational system and the labour market.

The programme was administered in close consultation with community groups and institutions. Two advisory Committees were established, comprised of resource persons who were sensitive to the needs of Jane-Finch and Regent Park. The Committees provided extremely helpful in popularizing the programme. Members also participated directly in the design of the counselling programme. Indeed, the Committees deliberated over virtually every aspect of the programme. They showed considerable interest in the participants, some of whom they were familiar with in other social contexts. Their performance and commitment played an important role in the success of the programme and more than justified the value and need of community consultation in the planning and implementation.

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In Britain:



The 'Full-Employ' Training Scheme

INCREASING EMPLOYABILITY: AN EVALUATION OF THE FULLEMPLOY TRAINING SCHEME

M.A. Peason and J. Mu

Runnymede Trust and Manpower Services Commission

(Available at the Resource Centre of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations)

A recent experimental programme in Britain, developed specifically for non-white young people, was a special office skills training course which mixed vocational training with quite extensive training in life and social skills and, where necessary, practical help with the trainee's social problems.

The programme was not designed to create jobs as such, but rather to give young people the confidence, skills and motivation to lead into a job. The project would be judged by whether it succeeded in giving a real op-

portunity to work in commerce to young people who might otherwise never get one.

The course was designed to create a typical office environment and provide tuition over a period of 12 weeks to allow twenty-four trainees to develop their abilities in office skills and practices. Secondly, it was designed to promote an understanding and tolerance of cultural differences and racial harmony; and thirdly, it was designed to assist the trainees to orientate themselves to the disciplines and attitudes demanded by a commercial employer. This then was not a conventional vocational training course on office skills. Equal emphasis was placed on individual needs and on the acquisition of attitudes and information which might be referred to as the non-vocational skills necessary to successful working life.

Originally the course content was to be 90% office skills training, including typing, office practice, cash handling and machine operating, but this was soon reduced to 60% in order to deal with a range of living problems such as social security claims, rent problems and accommodation. In addition, remedial English and maths had to be introduced.

Life skills training (which was brought into all aspects of the course and not treated separately) incorporated sessions on self-identity, personal development, inter-personal relationships, the world of work and job-finding techniques.

The third main area of the course was counselling in which instructors were available to talk to the trainees on a one-to-one

basis about their problems.

Prospective candidates were approached in their own environment by Employment officers, community workers and leaders. On the first course, out of 39 applicants invited to go for an interview, only 29 turned up; and on the second course, out of the 47 invited, only 39 attended an interview. In the strategy for recruitment it would appear to be important that there be a close link between the course and the recruiting sources in order to create a chain of understanding and information through which the trainees to some extent select themselves through negotiation with their "link person" in the community.

The general conclusion for this particular experiment was that the courses were fairly successful. The evaluation identified several factors that were of importance in achieving the programme's objectives.

- Location of the course within the facilities of a major bank in a downtown business environment had a beneficial effect in widening the trainees' environment, opening up new job opportunities and increasing the confidence of trainees to travel outside their local areas.
- The assistance given to trainees in obtaining jobs was an important feature of the programme.
- The life skills, counselling and job-seeking techniques were very important.
- Approximately two-thirds of the overall budget was met by the bank, although most of it stemmed from the utilization of spare resources (staff, premises, equipment),

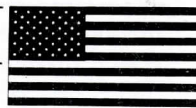
THE TWENTY-FIVE EVALUATION CRITERIA USED IN THE BRITISH PROGRAMME

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1. Realization of objectives | 11. Orientation of the course to job-searching | 18. Cohesiveness of the group |
| 2. Administration of the course | 12. Response of the course to employers' needs | 19. Motivation of trainees |
| 3. Organization of the course | 13. Liaison with prospective employers | 20. Attitude of trainees to instructors |
| 4. Quality of teaching | 14. Emphasis on practical job experience | 21. Attitude of the instructors to the trainees |
| 5. Quality and range of equipment/facilities | 15. Life skills training | 22. Personal growth of the instructors |
| 6. Instructor-trainee ratio | 16. Atmosphere | 23. Attendance |
| 7. Flexibility of approach | 17. Employment history after the course | 24. Punctuality |
| 8. Adaptiveness of approach | | 25. Internal communications |
| 9. Discipline | | |
| 10. Social activities | | |

rather than any direct expenditure. The remainder was funded by government. The bank gained from the experience particularly in the development of its own instructors.

In summary, the careful development of a programme of this nature can provide results if it improves employability, self-confidence and the ability to cope with life, thus breaking successfully into the cycle of the disadvantaged.

In the USA:



A Directory of Training and Employment Programmes in the Private Sector

Emphasis: Disadvantaged Youth

Aldina Newburg

The Corporation for Public/Private Ventures

1726 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19103, U.S.A.

1979, 88 pages

Funded in part by the U.S. Department of Labour, this directory lists 117 programmes throughout the U.S., sponsored by the private sector for the training and employment of disadvantaged youth.

Programmes listed were included on the basis of the following criteria:

1. They involve participation of the private sector in one or more of the following ways:
 - the provision of employment
 - provision of opportunity for work experience
 - participation in advisory boards, oversight committees, etc.
 - financial support
 - donation or loan of facilities, equipment or staff to help with programmes, train-

ing or administration

- other 'in-kind' services

2. They are designed specifically for, or are appropriate to, the special needs of disadvantaged youth.

Programmes are grouped according to three broad categories:

1. **Pre-employment:** These are projects which make positions in a variety of private firms more accessible to youth through counselling, job-readiness training and placement. Training generally lasts 4-6 weeks. Job placement and follow-up are usually provided.
2. **Skills Training:** Programmes in this category offer training in simulated "real work" settings for entry-level employment in one or several skill area(s): construction and building, electronics, auto mechanics, welding, machine operations, office work, drafting, electrical, healthcare, forestry and tourism.
3. **Career Pathways:** The distinctive feature of these programmes is that they create avenues for career growth through one of four approaches: internships, creation of new positions in emerging fields (i.e. energy), entrepreneurship opportunities, and career exploration.

Across each category, nine key elements have been identified for each programme: date established; capacity; location; administrative structure; nature of private sector involvement; programme features; population served; contact; and source of information.

This directory should serve as a useful reference guide to private sector initiatives in the training and employment of disadvantaged youth. Although business leaders may have a commitment to addressing the problem of rising unemployment among minority youth, their participation is unlikely to be forthcoming unless they are presented with "living" examples of what can be done. This inventory addresses that need. The directory is an important step in drawing together information in a form that should prove useful to those now operating programmes or those interested in initiating activity. It serves as a concise guide to a broad range of examples and approaches to training disadvantaged youth in the private sector.

FINDINGS

Some Issues Facing Non-White Entrepreneurs in Toronto

Darla Rhyne

The participation of non-whites in the entrepreneurial structure of Canadian society is a complex issue. To understand the contribution of these entrepreneurs to the business world as well as some of the problems they face, many factors must be examined. This article deals with only a small part of the matter. It looks at some aspects of business operation that are often problematic for small or medium sized enterprises in general, and compares the situations of non-white and white business proprietors. The intent is to draw attention to problems common to all entrepreneurs and to those that seem specific to non-white businessmen.

The data presented in the following discussion are drawn from interviews conducted in February, 1982 with 49 Black, Chinese, East Asian and Japanese entrepreneurs and 12 white business proprietors of British or European origins.¹ All entrepreneurs surveyed were well established proprietors of small or medium sized firms in a variety of sectors including manufacturing, importing/exporting, retailing and service. This is a very small sample in Metropolitan Toronto and it is important to keep in mind that the findings are not generalizable beyond the experiences of those interviewed. Rather, the findings suggest areas for future, more detailed examination.

Financial problems

Obtaining financing to establish, maintain and expand is a perpetual problem for small business in general. A recent study of chartered bank financing of small business in Canada

finds that while there is no systematic bias against smaller enterprises, banks do charge more for loans to small business than to big business and also require more collateral, including personal collateral (Wynant, Hatch and Grant, 1982). Current poor economic conditions aggravate this situation. Thus, although the entrepreneurs surveyed had not had difficulties obtaining business capital, it should be kept in mind that businessmen starting up today may experience financial problems regardless of their minority status.

For those surveyed, access to commercial capital was not an issue. Almost all (94%) who had made loan applications were successful in receiving the needed funding. Rather, the problems were located in the process of obtaining that capital. None of the white proprietors felt their applications had been subjected to any special or inequitable treatment. In comparison, 27% (or 10 out of 37) of non-white entrepreneurs felt their applications were scrutinized more closely and 29% felt they were required to provide more collateral than someone from a different ethnic group for a similar venture.

The use of the many government assistance programmes geared to the promotion and encouragement of independent enterprise can be a supplementary way of handling financial difficulties.² However, among those interviewed, both familiarity with and use of such programmes were low. Although non-white proprietors reported slightly less knowledge about these programmes than the other respondents, they did use them to the same limited extent as white entrepreneurs.

Problems with suppliers, employees, customers and expanding the market

Developing and maintaining an organization that includes relations with all employees; acquiring efficient equipment and supplies; and, developing a market are three of six main aspects of business activity defined by Cole (1967:399).³ These items highlight how critical relationships with suppliers, employees and customers are for successful enterprise. In the survey, respondents were asked to assess problems in these areas as "common to all business," "a matter of race," or "not a problem." As the table illustrates, there is little evidence of racial disadvantage. Most saw problems with suppliers, employees, customers and expanding the market as common to all businesses.

The majority felt that difficulties in finding suppliers, getting reliable suppliers or negotiating good credit or prices with suppliers, were common to all businesses. The next most common response was that such matters were not at all a problem for their particular businesses. Difficulties finding enough employees (especially qualified ones) or poor employee relations were also matters which most felt were common to all businesses. For a sizeable number of non-white respondents, staffing problems were not at all important. It was common for family members to be employed in these firms and this may be a partial explanation for good employee relations.

Lack of customers and difficulties expanding the market were also generally seen as common to all businesses and, as many commented "especially in the present bad economy." About half of the businesses surveyed had some ethnic connection in that they either provided specialty goods and/or services, or served a predominantly ethnic clientele. While space does not permit an elaboration of this important ethnic connection, it is also possible that it is more difficult for such businesses to expand beyond the ethnic market into the wider society.

Slightly over half of both non-white and other respondents were active in non-ethnic business or professional associations such as the Canadian Manufacturing Association, the

THE NATURE OF PROBLEMS WITH SUPPLIERS, EMPLOYEES, CUSTOMERS AND THE MARKET

	Entrepreneurs		
	Visible Minority	Non-Visible Minority	Total
SUPPLIERS			
Inability to get			
Common to All	69%	67%	69%
Not a Problem	24	8	21
Related to Race	6	25	10
Unreliable			
Common to All	69	75	70
Not a Problem	29	17	26
Related to Race	2	8	3
Poor Credit/Prices			
Common to All	67	83	70
Not a Problem	31	17	28
Related to Race	2	0	2
EMPLOYEES:			
Insufficient Number			
Common to All	63%	92%	69%
Not a Problem	35	8	30
Related to Race	2	0	2
Poor Relations			
Common to All	49	75	54
Not a Problem	51	17	44
Related to Race	0	8	2
CUSTOMERS & THE MARKET			
Lack of Customers			
Common to All	65%	92%	70%
Not a Problem	33	0	26
Related to Race	2	8	3
Hard to Expand Market			
Common to All	67	92	72
Not a Problem	27	0	21
Related to Race	6	8	7
NUMBER INTERVIEWED			
	49	12	61

Canadian Restaurant and Hotel Association or local associations of merchants. The use of these organizations suggests one of the strategies employed to enhance business operations. These associations were used primarily to get information on specific items (government regulations, legal matters, etc.), to get information about the general climate for business, and to secure more customers. Volunteered comments about participation in such organizations tended to be positive and stressed the usefulness of up-to-date information as well as the social aspects of membership. However, these advantages were enjoyed only by slightly over half of the respondents.

Summary and recommendations

For those interviewed, access to commercial capital was not a particularly serious problem although the process of obtaining business loans was perceived as inequitable by some non-white entrepreneurs. Most found that problems with financing, suppliers, employees, customers and expanding the market were common to all businesses rather than related to racial disadvantage. There were few differences between non-white and white business proprietors.

It is encouraging to note that the racial element is so small in the perceptions and experience of these respondents. All are successful businessmen; they are managing to operate a business during difficult economic times; their ambitions for independence are being met; and, their day to day concerns are focused on matters of business competition, making deals and securing profits. Why few non-whites appear to go into business; how many have failed and why; and whether minority-run businesses tend to be concentrated in less profitable commercial sectors may be questions where racial disadvantage provides an answer. But, for the non-white entrepreneurs interviewed, there is little evidence of disadvantage. Rather, their experiences counter the notions that non-white entrepreneurs lack "business sense," are concentrated only in specific endeavours or lack financial success in the Canadian business environment.

While the racial element is not very apparent in business concerns, it does affect some proprietors at least to the point of perceived financial disadvantage. Higher collateral and more careful scrutiny are normal procedures in funding certain kinds of business ventures (high risk propositions, small businesses, etc.). Yet none of the white respondents reported such experiences and about one quarter of the non-white respondents did. Future research might usefully focus on bank managers' methods of assessing applications. Developing an accurate understanding of the requirements and procedures for business financing might better sensitize minority applicants to what is procedural and what is inequitable.

It is clear that there are problems for business, especially in the present economic context, and these issues must be confronted by minority entrepreneurs as well as others. Few suggestions for improving the business operations of non-white proprietors are obvious from the findings reported in this article. Participation in business and professional organizations outside the ethnic community appears to give access to useful business information. Non-participants might consider getting involved in such organizations. Although getting information about government assistance programmes and the process of applying such assistance seem to be time-consuming and frustrating processes, more attention might be given to such opportunities. In turn, government agencies might usefully consider how to improve dissemination of information about programmes and requirements, including how to access possible government contracts. Some efforts could also be usefully directed towards providing immigrants with information about other business opportunities and support services so that reliance on an exclusively ethnic network could be reduced. *Dr. Darla Rhyne is with the Institute for Behavioural Research, York University.*

1. For more information about this study, contact the Race Relations Division, Ontario Human Rights Commission, 400 University Avenue, Toronto, Ontario M7A 1T7.
2. The A.B.C. Directory for Business (1981-82) lists over thirty such programmes in the areas of financing, taxation relief, manpower assistance, management improvement and other activities.
3. The other aspects of business activity defined by Cole include: the determination of business objectives and changing them as conditions require; securing adequate financial resources and retaining them while nurturing good relations with present and future investors; and keeping good relations with the public authorities and society at large.

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Minorities in the Workplace

October 15 & 16

Wilson A. Head

This working session, sponsored by the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, set out to clarify Affirmative Action as it applies to racial minorities in the workplace, and to promote a support network for people working in this area.

The following remarks were given by Dr. Wilson A. Head as part of his summary at the conclusion of the conference.

We have learned a great deal concerning the nature, role and possibilities of affirmative action programmes in the context of Canadian society. Differences between the United States and the Canadian experiences have been highlighted and elaborated. We are now more fully aware of the fact that we in Canada do not have the legislative mandate which is available in the United States. Neither do we have an adequate data base upon which effective affirmative action programmes must rest. Even the voluntary programmes for women, native peoples and the handicapped, which exist at the federal level, and in a few municipalities, have been and probably will continue to be, largely ineffective.

We have been made much more aware of what needs to be done. The problem is how to achieve the economic, social and political change necessary to get the legislation required before political action will be effective. We talked about that problem. We recognized that legislation is immensely desirable and necessary. However, passing laws alone is not enough. The permissive legislation now available in some provinces has not been effectively utilized. In most instances permissive legislation has not been utilized at all! We must, by effective educational efforts and consistent lobbying, create a climate in which the various human rights commissions and other agencies

will at least stretch the legislative mandate as far as possible. At least one human rights commission is demonstrating the extent to which this can be done. Unfortunately we in Ontario have not had the type of leadership required to expand the horizons of ideas and action.

Some of us had the exhilarating experience of hearing how some groups were able to develop the strategies and tactics necessary to make progress in combatting racism in Canada. Recitals of the experiences of the Chinese community in their struggle against the misrepresentations of a major television station – the W5 incident – was of great value. So were the reflections of a former City of Toronto alderman who gave us valuable insights into how the political process actually works. We learned the values and pitfalls of lobbying as a strategy. We were informed of the necessity for monitoring whatever types of programmes we adopted in order to reduce the incidence of discrimination in the workplace, and even in the larger Canadian society.

The very vigorous discussion which took place in the workshop on small businesses was extremely useful in helping us to understand that this segment of society is not entirely a "lost cause." The values to cooperatives and other non traditional businesses of becoming involved in individual and social change strategies were emphasized. This session moved away from traditional approaches to a more fundamental examination of the need for basic social change in society as a whole.

We talked about ourselves and our own difficulties in mounting a sustained programme of action. We recognized that our own lack of unity of purpose and willingness to cooperate with each other were major obstacles to success. As one individual asked,

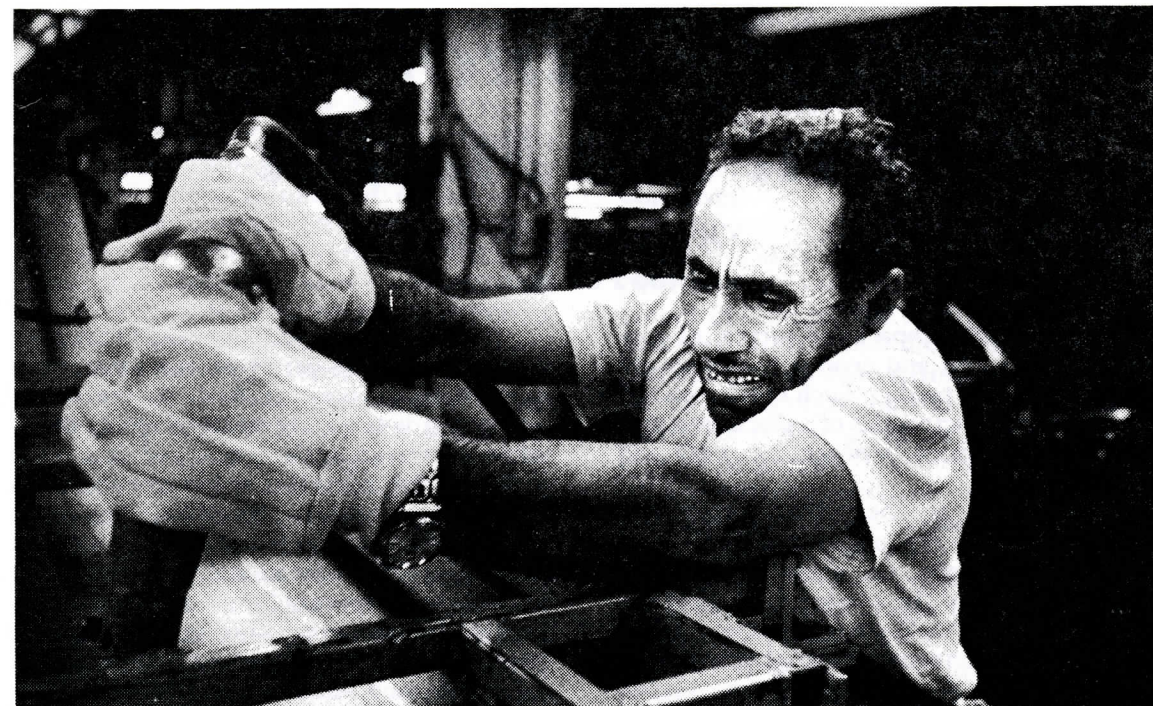


Photo courtesy of Earl Dotter, American Labor Education Centre.

"how can we get others to cooperate with us when we do not cooperate with ourselves?" But we did not stop there. We talked about "ways and means." In other words, methods which we could use to improve this situation.

This conference was characterized by considerably less rhetoric than is usual in many such gatherings. But no conference is perfect, and this was no exception. Its undeniable attributes were somewhat reduced by its lack of an analysis of the larger context in which prejudice and discrimination are only a part. For example, the basic reasons why affirmative action programmes are needed was explored to only a very limited extent. In fact, the contributions of some leaders appeared to suggest that discrimination and a denial of opportunity is merely a result of the inadequate education of employers. What is needed, in this view, was merely to inform employers of the benefits of affirmative action, help them define and implement programmes and the problems would disappear.

The facts clearly suggest something quite different from this view. In general, the great

majority of employers simply don't want to change employment practices. They resist any attempt to change old traditional patterns of behaviour. The term "reverse discrimination" is merely one aspect of this resistance. It is not adequate to merely inform them that equal opportunity is the ethical, democratic or just thing to do. These employers will change their behaviour only when it becomes too costly for them to continue resistance. To bring the necessary power to bear on this problem is the tough question...whether it is by legislation or by the pressures of voluntary action.

Second, it is important to understand the "why" of present practices. The denial of equal opportunity in Canada is based on a complex pattern of attitudes and behaviour which seeks to keep racial and ethnic minorities in a secondary position. Affirmative action programmes, if successful, would seriously undermine this situation. Thus the rejection of these programmes by most employers who profit by maintaining the present patterns of discrimination. Since negative racial attitudes

Continued on page 33.

Visible Minorities and the Media

October 29 & 30

Chimbo Poe-Mutuma

The potential impact and success of conferences on social and economic change are often difficult to predict. Such events tend to portray the characteristics of a discussion that involve negotiations between the weak and the strong.

Non-whites are becoming increasingly sceptical about the significance of conferences, especially on equal opportunity issues, because of the tendency to treat the subject as an intellectual exercise. It is, however, too premature to judge the benefits of the national conference on Visible Minorities and the Media, sponsored by the Department of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate. Its success may depend on the results of the commitments made by media and advertising executives present at the conference.

The conference was coordinated by the federal government to determine the visible minorities' viewpoint concerning the national medias' failure to reflect the cultural diversity of this country. A second goal of the conference was to encourage a dialogue between representatives of the racial and ethnic minorities and a select group of senior executives from the mass media and advertising agencies. Ethnic minorities in Canada (non-whites) seldom come together to launch campaigns for social change or demands for equal opportunity employment. Therefore, the first unqualified achievement of the conference was the bringing together of concerned non-whites from various parts of Canada, to share common experiences in problems of access to employment in media and advertising. It provided the opportunity to present these experiences with one voice before the industries and government agencies represented at the conference.

The absence of racial diversity in advertising and media was perceived and summed up in three major concerns. First, the non-white population is being deprived of seeing themselves portrayed in the media and thus made to believe that Canada is only white and not a multicultural mosaic. Secondly, non-white youth, who need role models, would not benefit from the educational and cultural enhancement responsibilities of the media. Finally, the economic contributions of ethnic minorities seem to be ignored by both media and advertising industries. In Toronto, it has been estimated, for example, that ethnic minorities' purchasing power is over \$6 billion.

Most conference delegates doubted the feasibility of a harmonious society where equitable treatment and exposure in media and advertising didn't exist. The two institutions, media and advertising, are mirrors of the world. Visibility and interaction of non-whites through these vehicles would assist in changing public perceptions and stereotyping of ethnic minorities. At the moment, exposure and media coverage of non-whites are generally inadequate and grossly misrepresented. Non-whites are often portrayed as exotic beings, complainers or people prone to crisis. This perception is consistent with media remarks regarding complaints launched by blacks against Phil McKeller.

An analysis of the U.S. experience given by Dwight Ellis showed that although Black Americans are still struggling for more representation in media and advertising, non-whites are far more visible in U.S. media and advertising. Black Americans, we were told, "have learned to play the game." In addition to affirmative action, non-white Americans have gone into media ownership and advertis-

ing agencies. Unity among blacks and the work of pressure groups have helped them to the present situation.

What seemed to have been achieved in this conference, as the result of the pressures and emotions expressed by the communities concerned, were gestures of commitments made by the broadcasters, some advertisers and agencies. The Canadian Association of Broadcasters agreed to start a dialogue with the members of the community about minority employment in media. Molsons of Canada publicly committed themselves to using minorities in their ads. The president of the Advertising Advisory Board of Canada, Ken Barnes, is ready and willing to bring advertisers and community representatives together to discuss the issue of non-white participation in advertising. Until these commitments are met and implemented, the conference's success will remain in question.

Chimbo Poe-Mutuma is the Program Communications Officer of the City of Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations.

MINORITIES IN THE WORKPLACE

Continued from page 31.

are not inherited, we must assume that they are learned. We need to be more aware of the mechanisms whereby these attitudes are taught and maintained.

Therefore it is necessary that we examine the effects of the basic socializing influences in our society – the family, the school, church and other religious institutions, and government agencies including the police, and the courts, and of course in modern societies the overwhelming power of electronic and print media.

From this point of view it is simply not enough to condemn the record of the business community. Yes, that record is very bad indeed, but it is only one aspect of a much broader problem. Neither is the denial of equal opportunity related to racial minorities alone. The new Canadian constitution clearly indicates, as do the various human rights codes, that discrimination on several grounds – race, creed, colour, age, marital status, place of birth or national origin, etc. – is prohibited. In other words, a much larger group of in-

dividuals than racial minorities have been and still are subjected to various degrees of prejudice and discrimination. It should be useful, in a later conference, to address the advantages of working together more closely with these groups in the pursuit of common goals and objectives.

Affirmative action programmes, to the extent that they can be actualized, can be an extremely valuable tool in the struggle against racism in Canada. The American experience, however, clearly indicates that it is not a panacea. Resistance to change can be a powerful barrier to obtaining equality of access required for real progress. And even when this type of programme is allotted the full power of government sanctions, employers have found ways of circumventing some of its provisions. For example, when forced to develop strategies to achieve equal opportunity in employment, some employers in the United States are reported to be refusing to promote minority employees. And in the absence of powerful community support, even government agencies have been less than effective in enforcement.

Much more remains to be done. But the tide of history is running against those who would attempt to maintain dominance over others by resorting to racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination. In spite of the efforts of some, knowledge of the potentials of all human beings are increasingly recognized and appreciated. It is no longer fashionable to attempt to prove that blacks, Chinese, South Asians and other non whites are inferior. The scientific evidence against alleged inferiority is simply too overwhelmingly negative to permit us to believe that nonsense. But the implications of this evidence is still resisted. Our task is to make certain that we ourselves are aware of our dignity and rights and will accept nothing less than full recognition of our common humanity.

This conference, while not the first effort of its kind, has nevertheless been a major step in this process. It is good that many participants have indicated interest in continuing the process. Discrimination in the workplace, as elsewhere, will not be changed on the basis of one or two conferences, however significant. But, I believe that we are on our way.

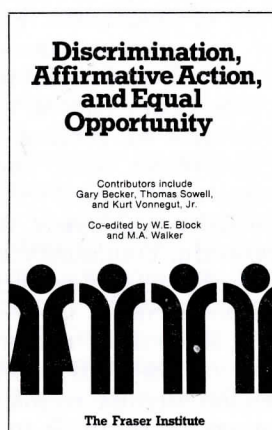
DISCRIMINATION, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY
Michael Walker & Walter Block, Editors
The Fraser Institute

The economics of discrimination

LEON MUSZYNSKI

The best way to understand the new Fraser Institute book, *Discrimination, Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity*, is to understand just what the Fraser Institute is. The Fraser Institute of Vancouver was born during the short reign of the N.D.P. in British Columbia during the early 1970s. It was the fear of 'socialism' that brought the Fraser Institute together and it is the fear of 'socialism' that keeps the Fraser Institute active in researching, publishing, and educating the Canadian public on the evils of government, social equity, and cooperation, and the 'socialist policies' of the federal Liberals. Since its inception it has become an important mouthpiece for right wing interests in this country. It stands against rent control, the minimum wage, enforced union contracts, government pensions, unemployment insurance, the welfare state, government bureaucrats, and any form of regulation or government intervention in the economy. It stands for profit, competition, a strict laissez-faire capitalism, and of course the right to be rich. It is funded by some of the largest and most prestigious corporations in Canada and the United States.

It should come as no surprise then that the Fraser Institute first denies the existence



of widespread discrimination in employment against minorities and women, and then attacks both the rationale and practice of affirmative action. It is also instructive that they are not opposed to the concept and the practice of equal opportunity.

At first glance we are inclined to dismiss *Discrimination, Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity* as blatant right wing extremism. But the ideas of the new right cannot be ignored so readily if only because we encounter them so often everyday with so many Canadians, let alone the business community. The ideas represented in this book are sinister and dangerous; they are also compelling and intelligent and therefore deserve to be refuted.

Contributors to the volume, edited by Institute director Michael Walker and senior economist Walter Block, are prestigious academics, consultants and writers, mostly from the United States. They include Gary Becker, Thomas Sowell and even a reprint of Kurt Vonnegut Jr.'s short fiction piece, "Harrison Bergeron," in which we are given a frightening vision of the grey, boring and featureless world of 2081 where everybody is finally equal under the increasing vigilance of agents of the United States Handicapping General. The editors have included pictures of most authors at the beginning of each article so that we can see and learn that it is not only whites that oppose affirmative action. Walker and Block want us to know that Sowell and Walter Williams, two right wing American economists who are opposed to affirmative action, are black. It apparently adds credibility to their positions.

The left has long claimed that the objective roots of discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities lie in the economic advantages gained by employers by having a class of workers that can be segregated into certain occupations and industries and can be paid less. But the book denies the existence of discrimination in employment. According to Walker, Block and Becker, in an economy where there is a ceaseless quest for profits, discrimination cannot exist. Employers choosing to discriminate must pay for the choice by competing with employers who can hire those people at a lower wage and therefore price ad-

vantage. And of course in the free competitive market new employers will bid up wages of those who are paid less but are equally productive until wages are identical for all people of equal productivity. So you see prejudice is not profitable; and the more profitable business is, the less discrimination there will be. Such is the logic of the economics of the new right, the logic of Reaganomics, the logic of Thatcherism and the logic of Canada's very own Fraser Institute. It is no wonder that economics is known as the science that has the most to hide.

The world of the free competitive market exists more in the fantasies of the Michael Walkers of this world than it ever has in reality. It is a theory that ignores such 'minor' realities as unemployment, monopolies, state legislation and the history of exploitation and discrimination in those times and in those places where there really was a competitive form of capitalism.

In their analysis of discrimination, Sowell, Williams, Block and Becker denounce simple identifications of proportional underrepresentation as evidence for discrimination. They suggest that the clear reality of underrepresentation is not evidence of discrimination and they present evidence that it is primarily individual aspirations, preference, and choice that determine the allocation of different groups into different jobs. This is a very popular view. And there is some truth to the observation that it is socialization that influences the attitudes of different groups towards different jobs, but this is no argument against affirmative action.

The important omission in their analysis is the notion of systemic discrimination. While proportional underrepresentation is not sufficient to prove the existence of discrimination, it is necessary. Once an underrepresentation is identified the next step is to see whether minorities or women are applying for jobs in each particular organization. If they are and are being rejected then this adverse impact brings us closer to the identification of discrimination, but has not led us to it completely yet. The third and most important step is then to judge whether the criteria used to judge a person's merit are actually valid; that is whether they are objective, or rather

whether they are based on criteria that are intentionally or unintentionally biased against women and minorities. This kind of discrimination, systemic discrimination, has been defined as the use of hiring or promotion criteria that have an adverse impact upon target groups because they are not related to the measurement of ability to do some job.

In their attack on affirmative action, the authors in the Fraser Institute book use the most important myths, misconceptions, and popular fears about it, all under the sophisticated guise of academic analysis and economic rationality. They constantly assert that affirmative action means quotas; that it undermines the individual rights of whites; that it circumvents the merit principle; that it is harmful because it places unqualified blacks in positions which expose their incompetence.

Affirmative action can mean many things. Least of all it means what the Fraser Institute thinks it means. Affirmative action has meant quotas, but only in the U.S. with the most recalcitrant of employers. There is no doubt that quota systems of hiring are harmful, but not for the reason the Fraser Institute gives. They are often instituted by employers who don't understand or don't care to understand the nature of discrimination and will institute a blunt-edged programme because they have to. This is harmful because it gives a bad name to affirmative action.

Employers who do understand the nature of discrimination, also understand that affirmative action can improve their organizations by removing the subjectivity inherent in personal decision-making and thereby getting the best person for the job in question. Affirmative action does not undermine the merit principle; on the contrary, it reaffirms the principle that people should be hired based on their abilities, not based on their colour or sex.

The most irksome idea to these right wing economists is that employers' rights to do what they will with their firms are being tampered with by government. Despite laissez-faire economic theory to the contrary, a socially just allocation of jobs, let alone the allocation of a sufficient number of jobs, has never been the strength of the market economy. The history of the struggle for human rights in this country and elsewhere

tells us of the necessity of coercion in achieving social justice for groups that experience discrimination.

This book, *Discrimination, Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity* is a thorn in the side of human rights activists, but it should be read because it is important that we can confront directly and intelligently the ideas of the enemy. There are many people yet to win over to the cause of affirmative action and we are going to have to do this with the help of effective and dispassionate criticism and the development of both adequate theory and forceful political struggle.

THE MULTIMILLION DOLLAR MISUNDERSTANDING: AN ATTEMPT TO REDUCE TURNOVER AMONG DISADVANTAGED WORKERS

Robert P. Quinn, Teresa Levitin & Dov Eden

From "The Quality of Working Life"
L.E. Davis & A.B. Cherus (ed.)
Macmillan

Ambitious, Expensive, Unsuccessful

TIM REES

This is a case history documenting one company's very ambitious, expensive and unsuccessful attempt to reduce turnover among non-white workers.

A U.S. company, engaged in heavy manufacturing, found that 42 percent of the newly hired non-white workers left the company within their first six weeks of employment. Management attributed the high turnover to personal characteristics of the new recruits: their lack of skills, unfamiliarity with the demands of jobs in heavy industry, and, above all, lack of the 'right attitude' towards work.

The company therefore instituted a training programme that would somehow 'correct'

what the company felt were 'defects' limiting the new recruits' manpower problem and also demonstrate concern for non-white workers in the local community. Through several contracts with the Manpower Administration of the U.S. government, the company obtained the largest federal financial underwriting ever accorded a single company conducting a training programme for the 'disadvantaged.'

During the year it was studied, over 1,500 workers participated in the six week training programme. The content, staffing, etc. of the programme were considered quite a reasonable solution to the problem of reducing high turnover among non-white workers, if turnover were attributable principally to characteristics of the workers, rather than to characteristics of their jobs. The study found, however, that the training programme made no statistically significant difference to turn-

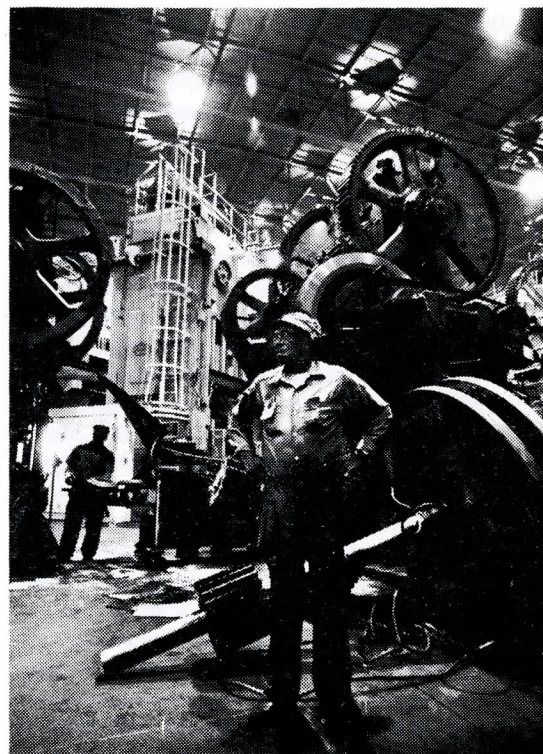


Photo courtesy of Earl Dotter, Photographer for the American Labor Education Centre, 1835 Kilbourne Place N.W., Washington D.C.

over rate. The study concluded that a few million dollars would have been saved if each disadvantaged worker had been placed directly on the job without any vestibule training.

The research identified a number of factors for this outcome. Prominent among the problems were overambitious and unrealistic training objectives which assumed that the psychological patterns of a lifetime could be undone within a few weeks. However, the researchers concluded that the major cause of turnover among these non-white workers on entry level jobs was the quality of their working lives, as represented by both characteristics of the workers' jobs and characteristics they attributed to supervisors. Neither of these sources of turnover can be attacked by training. The training programme was irrelevant to the social problem it was designed to solve. No amount of employee training can make working conditions objectively less noxious or change a person's history.

Why this faith in education and job training programmes? The researchers attribute it to a general tendency, that whenever a social problem surfaces and its sources can be attributed to both social systems and people within those systems, efforts to solve the problem more often involve attempts to alter the behaviour of the people than to modify the systems. And this is particularly true when the social system is a large industrial establishment. It is easier for management to attribute high turnover to the workers' shortcomings than to the shortcomings of the company. The training is designed to mold workers to fit the existing industrial system, thereby sidestepping any possibility of modifying the organization to make it more compatible with the needs of the workers.

The study comments upon the practices of the U.S. government doing little to encourage companies to attempt organizational change and job redesign as a means of providing workers, disadvantaged or not, with decent jobs. Many millions of dollars are spent on the development of job training programmes for the disadvantaged; little is spent on improving the quality of the jobs to which the disadvantaged are assigned after they have completed training.

The conclusion of this case history is that

such training programmes are unlikely to be successful if the target of proposed changes is only the trainee and not also the organization or social system within which such training is taking place.

CHAN IS MISSING

Wayne Wang

United Artists Classics, dist.

Not quite east, not quite west

DORA NIPP

From San Francisco to New York to Toronto, film critics have applauded thirty-three year old Wayne Wang's *Chan is Missing*, not only for its note-worthy production cost of a mere \$20,000, but also for its wit, warmth and charm. While the low budget is surprising, it should not be hailed as the movie's only redeeming feature. *Chan is Missing* is the first full-length North American film to boast an all Asian cast and crew.



Advertisement courtesy of United Artists Classics.

The plot is fairly straightforward. It revolves around two San Francisco taxi drivers, Jo and Steve, and a friend, Mr. Chan, who, along with their \$4,000, is missing. The

two then set out to find Chan Hung and recover their money. Along the way, however, the search for this mysterious figure becomes synonymous with the discovery of Chinatown from the inside.

The characters themselves are representative of three generations of Asian-Americans. Jo (Wood Moy) possesses a subdued worldliness, yet sees himself as "not quite Chinese enough." His nephew, Steve (Mark Hayashi), who can be described as Asian on the outside but funk on the inside, so epitomizes the melting-pot theory that he is essentially devoid of any specific ethnic identity. Then there is the elusive Chan, who, like many recent Asian immigrants, has found the trauma of adjusting to a place that is "not quite East and not quite West" insurmountable. The film also hosts a colourful supporting cast, which includes, among others, a cook who wails "fry me to the moon" and then reminds Chinese Americans that "you're a foreigner here," and a female Asian lawyer who embarks earnestly on a rhetoric about "misunderstandings of cross-cultural communication" and proceeds to demonstrate exactly what she means. People are the basis of *Chan is Missing*. Wang has demonstrated this in such scenes as the visit to a Filipino senior citizens' centre, where Mariachi music flows past faces so intense in their silence, it is almost as though the audience is being watched and not vice versa.

The film does drag at times, but it is at this calculating pace that Wang takes control of your visual capacities and under the guise of a search directs you to the world through his eyes. As co-author, director and producer, Wayne Wang has used his art-work as a medium for introducing social awareness.

Chan is Missing is directed at two groups – the Asian-American audience, and the larger, general American (and by extension, Canadian) movie going public. It is the first time that Asians have played leading roles which do not perpetuate the stereotypical Hollywood image of an "Oriental." Unlike the offensive Charlie Chan figures of earlier years, I am not confronted by pseudo-Asians who are instructing me in how I should be thinking, talking, behaving and living. Instead I see and hear a part of my world exposed in all its richness, eccentricities, crudeness and beauty.

For non-Asians, *Chan is Missing* breaks with the traditionally plastic and seemingly homogenous vision of curio shops and eateries which have dominated views of Chinatown. As with most other groups, political divisions inevitably occur and the Chinese are no exception – "What kind of a CHINA-man are you? Taiwan? PRC?" Like many inner city American ethnic neighbourhoods, there are signs of age and decay, of dark alleys and run-down hotels. The "dirty laundry" which Wang makes public are facets of reality.

The black and white photography, although dictated by necessity rather than choice, serves to reinforce the contrasts in the life process which Wang traces. His docudrama captures an American community in a particular time period. *Chan is Missing* focusses on generational, as well as cultural, differences. For example, in the menu skit he presents a bilingual dialogue in which the parents are speaking Cantonese, and their daughter replies in English. In other areas Wang notes the linguistic variations within the Chinese community itself. He provides no sub-titles, so for those members of the audience who know neither Cantonese or Mandarin, such conversations would be semantically obscured.

Chan is Missing is sophisticated – Wang does not believe in lecturing in order to enlighten. He leaves it up to the individual to decide what happened to Chan, and draw his or her own conclusions. In spite of the fact that I found the film to be refreshing, entertaining and, dare I say, educational, I cannot help but wonder how successfully this young film-maker will be accepted by North American movie goers. In terms of furthering the understanding of the Chinese community in relation to the rest of North America, I feel the film has made a significant contribution. Yet, I question whether or not Asian Americans are ready for a candid self-analysis of their own life experiences. On a broader scale, because the present level of cross-cultural understanding is limited, I am not quite sure that the North American audience is prepared to see Asians on the screen, nor willing to receive them into their livingrooms. Polemic thoughts for a seminal creation.

Not everyone will enjoy *Chan is Missing*

– some may find it exhaustingly boring. As for myself, I am getting out the popcorn in anticipation of Wang's next release.

Dora Nipp is a Researcher, Multicultural History Society of Ontario.

THEATRE FOUNTAINHEAD

Black & Third World Theatre in Toronto

DR. FRANCES HENRY

Founded in September 1974 by Jeff Henry, Theatre Fountainhead announced itself as a professional theatre devoted to producing black and third world plays, especially African and Caribbean playwrights of international reputation whose works had not been performed in Toronto. Most recently the theatre did two productions which were critically acclaimed: *Pantomime*, written by Derek Walcott, at Theatre Passe Muraille; and *Statements After An Arrest Under The Immorality Act*, by Athol Fugard, at the Adelaide Court. *Statements* was an enormous box office success. Both plays were directed by Calvin Butler.

Theatre Fountainhead has continued its tradition of play readings and developing new scripts through workshops. For example, *Bells*, an adaptation of Austin Clarke's *When He Was Young And Free And He Used To Wear Silks* and a number of other plays written by Canadian playwrights of third world origins are also in the process of being developed.

In the past Theatre Fountainhead has produced *The Swamp Dwellers* by Wole Soyinka, *Waiting For Godot* by Samuel Beckett, and *Africa In The Caribbean*. All of these productions were directed by Jeff Henry.

In April 1981 an artistic directorate was formed, composed of some of Toronto's leading directors, writers, actors and admini-

strators. Calvin Butler was appointed artistic director and Daniel Caudieron administrator.

The theatre has received grants from the Canada Council, Ontario Arts Council and the Secretary of State, and is now launching a major fund raising drive to support its new season. Currently in rehearsal is *The Criminals*, written by Cuban-born playwright Jose Triana. This will be followed by a stage adaptation of a series of poems *Things We Do In The Dark* by Judy Jordan, showing the evolution of a girl to a woman. The evening will conclude with a production of *Coldsnap* by Leah Ghans – a moving but humorous account of a Caribbean immigrant experiences in Canada. These two productions will be done at Adelaide Court in January and April 1983 respectively.

Theatre Fountainhead is in the process of planning a season of three new plays for its 1983-84 season.

Information can be obtained at the theatre's office, 24 Ryerson Avenue, Toronto M5T 2P3. Telephone (416) 862-7491.

Dr. Frances Henry is a Professor of Anthropology at York University, Toronto.



From "Waiting For Godot." Photo by Andrew Oxenham. Courtesy of Theatre Fountainhead.



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In the next issue:

MINORITIES AND THE MEDIA

A look at some of the issues and some of the advances being made in the media, and some suggestions for further improvements in advancing the position of minorities.